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A HISTORY OF THE MILITARY TRANSACTIONS OF THE BRITISH NATION IN INDOSTAN,

FROM THE YEAR MDCCXLV.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED A DISSERTATION
ON THE ESTABLISHMENTS MADE BY MAHOMEDAN
CONQUERORS IN INDOSTAN.

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THE AUTHOR.

AND MOST FAITHFUL SUBJECT

AND MOST DUTIFUL SERVANT

I N D U S T R Y

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

H I S T O R Y

OF

GEORGE THE THIRD.

TO HIS MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY

GEORGE THE THIRD,

THIS ATTEMPT

TO COMMEMORATE THE SUCCESSES

OF THE BRITISH ARMS

IN INDOSTAN

IS MOST HUMBLY DEDICATED,

BY HIS MAJESTY'S

MOST DUTIFUL SERVANT,

AND MOST FAITHFUL SUBJECT,

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IN INDOSTAN

OF THE BRITISH ARMS

TO COMMEMORATE THE SUCCESSES

THIS TABLET

GEORGE THE THIRD,

TO HIS MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY

A DISSERTATION ON THE ESTABLISHMENTS MADE BY MAHOMEDAN CONQUERORS in INDOSTAN.

SECTION I.

EUROPEANS underſtand by the Eaſt-Indies all the countries and empires, which laying ſouth of Tartary, extend from the eaſtern frontiers of Perſia, to the eaſtern coaſts of China. The iſlands of Japan are likewiſe included in this denomination; as are all the Malay iſlands, in which the Dutch have ſuch valuable poſſeſſions, and which extend to the ſouthward, as far as the coaſts of New Holland, and eaſtward to lands unknown.

BUT the name of India can only with propriety be applied to the country which is diſtinguiſhed in Aſia as well as in Europe by the name of Indoſtan.

THAT part of the weſtern ſide of Indoſtan, which is not bounded by the ſea, is ſeparated from Perſia and the Uſbeg Tartary by deſarts, and

by thoſe mountains which were known to the ancients under the name of Paropamiſus: Mount Caucaſus forms its barrier to the north, ſeparating it from various nations of Tartars, from the great and little Thibet. From mount Caucaſus to Chitigan, marſhes and rivers divide it from the kingdoms of Tepra, Aſſam, and Aracan: the ſea, from Chitigan to cape Comorin and from hence to Perſia, embraces the reſt of Indoſtan.

THIS great extent of country has been inhabited, from the earlieſt antiquity, by a people who have no reſemblance either in their figures or manners with any of the nations which are contiguous to them. Although theſe nations have at different times ſent conquerors amongſt them, who have eſtabliſhed themſelves in different parts of the country: although the Mogul Tartars under Tamerlane and his ſucceſſors have at laſt rendered themſelves lords of almoſt the whole of it; yet the original inhabitants have loſt very little of their original character by the eſtabliſhment of theſe ſtrangers amongſt them.

BESIDES the particular denominations which they receive from the caſts and countries in which they are born, there is one more general, which is applied indiſcriminately to diſtinguiſh the original natives from all who have intruded themſelves amongſt them, Hendoo, from whence Indian.

THE Indians have loſt all memory of the ages in which they began to believe in VISTNOU, ESWARA, BRAMA, and a hundred thouſand divinities ſubordinate to theſe. Theſe divinities are worſhipped in temples called Pagodas in every part of Indoſtan, the whole extent of which is holy land to its inhabitants, that is, there is no part in which ſome divinity has not appeared and done ſomething to merit a temple and prieſts to take care of it. Some of theſe fabrics are of immemorial antiquity: they are at the ſame time monuments of ſuch ſtupendous labour, that they are ſuppoſed to have been built by the gods to whom they are conſecrated.

THE hiſtory of theſe gods is a heap of the greateſt abſurdities. It is Eſwara twiſting off the neck of Brama; it is the Sun, who gets his teeth knocked out, and the Moon, who has her face beat black and blue at a feaſt, at which the gods quarrel and fight with the ſpirit of a mob. They ſay that the Sun and Moon carry in their faces to this day the marks of this broil. Here and there a moral or metaphyſical allegory, and ſometimes a trace of the hiſtory of a firſt legiſlator, is diſcernible in theſe ſtories; but in general they are ſo very extravagant and incoherent, that we ſhould be left to wonder how a people ſo reaſonable in other reſpects ſhould have adopted ſuch a code of nonſenſe as a creed of religion, did we not find the ſame credulity in the hiſtories of nations much more enlightened.

THE Bramins, who are the tribe of the prieſthood, deſcend from thoſe Brachmans who are mentioned to us with ſo much reverence by antiquity, and although much inferior either as philoſophers or men of learning to the reputation of their anceſtors, as prieſts their religious doctrines are ſtill implicitly followed by the whole nation, and as preceptors they are the ſource of all the knowledge which exiſts in Indoſtan.

EVEN at this day ſome of them are capable of calculating an eclipſe, and this ſeems to be the utmoſt ſtretch of their mathematical knowledge. They have a good idea of logic: but it does not appear that they have any treatiſes on rhetoric; their ideas of muſic, if we may judge from the practice, are barbarous; and in medicine they derive no aſſiſtance from the knowledge of anatomy, ſince diſſections are repugnant to their religion.

THEY ſhed no blood and eat no fleſh, becauſe they believe in the tranſmigration of ſouls; they encourage wives to burn themſelves with their deceaſed huſbands, and ſeem to make the perfection of religion to conſiſt in a punctual obſervance of numerous ceremonies performed in the worſhip of their gods, and in a ſtrict attention to keep their bodies free from pollution. Hence purifications and ablutions, as dictated by

their ſcriptures, are ſcrupulouſly obſerved by them, and take up no ſmall portion of their time.

A BRAMIN cannot eat any thing which has been prepared or even touched by any other hand than that of a Bramin, and from the ſame principle, cannot be married to a perſon of any other caſt in the kingdom, becauſe his own caſt is the higheſt, even above that of the kings. They ſay that they were formerly the kings of the whole country, and preſerve to this day the privilege of commuting capital puniſhment, when merited, by the loſs of their eyes. To kill a Bramin is one of the five ſins, for which there is ſcarce any expiation.

THE pre-eminence of the Bramins admitted, it ſeems as if the Indians had determined to compenſate the odium of ſuch a ſuperiority, by forming themſelves into a number of diſtinct tribes or gradations of people, who reſpectively ſubmit to the different degrees of eſtimation in which they have at laſt agreed to abide, as implicitly as the whole agree to acknowledge the ſuperiority of the Bramins.

THE many temporal advantages which the Bramins derive from their ſpiritual authority, and the impoſſibility of being admitted into their tribe, have perhaps given riſe to that number of Joguees and Facquires, who torture themſelves with ſuch various and aſtoniſhing penances only to gain the ſame veneration which a Bramin derives from his birth.

THE caſts or tribes into which the Indians are divided, are reckoned by travellers to be eighty-four: perhaps when India ſhall be better known, we ſhall find them to be many more; for there is a ſingular diſpoſition in the Indian, from very trifling circumſtances to form a ſect apart from the reſt of his neighbours. But the order of pre-eminence of all the caſts in a particular city or province is generally indiſputably decided. The Indian of an inferior caſt would think himſelf honoured by adopting the cuſtoms of a ſuperior caſt; but this would give battle ſooner than not vindicate its prerogatives: the inferior receives the victuals

tuals prepared by a ſuperior caſt with reſpect, but the ſuperior will not partake of a meal which has been prepared by the hands of an inferior caſt. Their marriages are circumſcribed by the ſame barriers as the reſt of their intercourſes; and hence, beſides the national phyſiognomy, the members of each caſt preſerve an air of ſtill greater reſemblance to one another. There are ſome caſts remarkable for their beauty, others as remarkable for their uglineſs.

ALL theſe caſts acknowledge the Bramins for their prieſts, and with them admit the tranſmigration. In devotion to this opinion ſome afflict themſelves at the death of a fly, although occaſioned by their inadvertence. But the far greater number of caſts are not ſo ſcrupulous, and eat, although very ſparingly, both of fiſh and fleſh; but, like the Jews, not of all kinds indifferently.

THEIR diet is chiefly rice, and vegetables dreſſed with ginger, turmeric and other hotter ſpices, which grow almoſt ſpontaneouſly in their gardens. They eſteem milk the pureſt of foods, becauſe they think it partakes of ſome of the properties of the nectar of their gods, and becauſe they eſteem the cow itſelf almoſt a divinity.

AN abhorrence to the ſhedding of blood, derived from his religion, and ſeconded by the great temperance of a life which is paſſed by moſt of them in a very ſparing uſe of animal food, and a total abſtinence from intoxicating liquors; the influence of the moſt regular of climates, in which the great heat of the ſun and the great fertility of the ſoil leſſen moſt of the wants to which the human ſpecies is ſubject in auſterer regions, and ſupply the reſt without the exertion of much labour; theſe cauſes, with various derivations and conſequences from them, have all together contributed to render the Indian the moſt enervated inhabitant of the globe.

HE ſhudders at the ſight of blood, and is of a puſillanimity only to be excuſed and accounted for by the great delicacy of his configuration.

figuration. This is ſo ſlight as to give him no chance of oppoſing with ſucceſs the onſet of an inhabitant of more northern regions.

HIS manners are gentle; his happineſs conſiſts in the ſolaces of a domeſtic life; to which ſufficiently inclined by the climate, he is obliged by his religion, which eſteems matrimony a duty indiſpenſible in every man who does not quit the world to unite himſelf to God: ſuch is their phraſe. Although permitted by his religion, according to the example of his gods, to have ſeveral, he is ſeldom the huſband of more than one wife: and this wife is of a decency of demeanour, of a ſollicitude in her family, and of a fidelity to her vows, which might do honour to human nature in the moſt civilized countries.

HIS amuſements conſiſt in going to his Pagoda, in aſſiſting at religious ſhews, in fulfilling a variety of ceremonies preſcribed to him on all occaſions, by the Bramin; for, ſubject to a thouſand lapſes from the ideas he has adopted of impurity, the Indian is always offending his gods, who are not to be appeaſed till their prieſt is ſatisfied.

IN a country of ſuch great extent, divided into ſo many diſtinct ſovereignties, it cannot be expected that there ſhould be no exceptions to one general aſſertion of the character of the inhabitants. There is every where in the mountains a wild inhabitant, whoſe bow an European can ſcarcely draw. There are in the woods people who ſubſiſt by their incurſions into the neighbouring plains, and who, without the ferocity of the American, poſſeſs all his treachery; and according to Mr. Thevenot, India has had its cannibals in the center of one of the moſt cultivated provinces of the empire. The Rajpouts by their courage have preſerved themſelves almoſt independant of the Great Mogul. The inhabitants of the countries ſtill nearer to the mountains of the frontier, diſtinguiſhed by the activity of their character from the indolence of the reſt of the nation, have eaſily turned Mahomedans, and theſe Affghans are the beſt troops in the emperor's

ſervice,

ſervice, and the moſt dangerous enemies of the throne when in arms againſt it.

THE arts which furniſh the conveniencies of life have been carried by the Indians to a pitch far beyond what is neceſſary to ſupply the wants of a climate which knows ſo few. At the ſame time no ideas of taſte or fine deſign have exiſted amongſt them: and we ſeek in vain for elegance in the magnificence of the richeſt empire of the globe.

THEIR knowledge of mechanical powers is ſo very confined, that we are left to admire, without being able to account for, the manner in which they have erected their capital Pagodas. It does not appear that they had ever made a bridge of arches over any of their rivers, before the Mahomedans came amongſt them.

IT is to the ſuppleneſs with which the whole frame of an Indian is endowed, and which is ſtill more remarkable in the configuration of his hand, that we are indebted for the exquiſite perfection of their manufactures of linnen. The ſame inſtruments which an Indian employs to make a piece of cambric, would, under the rigid fingers of an European, ſcarcely produce a piece of canvaſs.

HIS religion forbids the Indian to quit his own ſhores: he wants nothing from abroad: he is ſo far from being ſollicitous to convert the ſtranger to his own opinions, or from wiſhing him to aſſimilate with the nation, that if a foreigner were to ſollicit the privilege of worſhiping Viſtnou, his propoſal would be received with the utmoſt contempt.

NOTHING ſeems to have been wanting to the happineſs of this nation, but that others ſhould have looked on them with the ſame indifference with which they regard the reſt of the world. But not content with the preſents which nature has ſhowered on their climate, they have made improvements when they felt no neceſſities. They have cultivated the various and valuable productions of their ſoil, not to the meaſure

ſure of their own but to that of the wants of all other nations; they have carried their manufactures of linnen to a perfection which ſurpaſſes the moſt exquiſite productions of Europe, and have encouraged with avidity the annual tributes of gold and ſilver which the reſt of the world conteſt for the privilege of ſending to them. They have from time immemorial been as addicted to commerce, as they are averſe to war. They have therefore always been immenſely rich, and have always remained incapable of defending their wealth.

SECTION

SECTION II.

LONG before Tamerlane, mahomedan princes had entered, made conqueſts, and eſtabliſhed themſelves in India.

VALID, the 6th of the Kalifs named Ommiades, who aſcended the throne in the year 708 of our Æra, and in the 90th of the Hegira, made conqueſts in India; ſo that the Alcoran was introduced very early into this country.

MAHMOUD, ſon of Sebegtechin, prince of GAZNA, the capital of a province ſeparated by mountains from the north-weſt parts of India, and ſituated near Kandahar, carried the Alcoran with the ſword into Indoſtan in the year 1000 or 1002 of our Æra. He maintained himſelf in a vaſt extent of territory out of, and ſeems to have ſubdued as large a one in, India, if it is true that he carried his conqueſts as far to the ſouth as the preſent capital of the kingdom of Viſiapore near Goa. He treated the Indians with all the rigor of a conqueror and all the fury of a converter, plundering treaſures, demoliſhing temples, and murdering idolaters throughout his rout. His hiſtorians are quite extravagant in their deſcriptions of the wealth he found in Indoſtan. One of them ſays, no doubt allegorically, that he found a tree growing out of the earth to an enormous ſize, of which the ſubſtance was pure gold, and this the effect of nature.

THE ſucceſſors of this Mahmoud are called, from the capital of their dominions, the dynaſty of the Gaznavides, and maintained themſelves in a great part of the countries which he had conquered in India until the year 1155. or 1157. when KOSROU SCHAH, the 13th and laſt prince of Gazna, and of the Gaznavide race, was depoſed by HUSSAIN GAURI, ſo called from the country in which he was born, Gaur, a province laying to the north of Gazna.

THIS Huſſain founded the dynaſty of the GAURIDES, which furniſhed five princes who poſſeſſed in and out of India nearly the ſame dominions as their predeceſſors the Gaznavides, and like them made Gazna their capital.

SCHEABBEDIN, the 4th of the Gauride emperors, during the life of his brother and predeceſſor GAIATHEDDIN, conquered the kingdoms of Multan and Delhi. He drew ſuch immenſe treaſures out of India, that his favourite daughter enquiring of the officer who had the care of them, to what value they amounted, the treaſurer anſwered, that there was the weight of three thouſand pounds in diamonds only, by which ſhe might judge of the reſt: after deductions made for oriental exaggeration, we may ſtill gather from this anecdote, that his conqueſts in India had given him great wealth. An Indian, rendered deſperate by the pollutions and inſults to which he ſaw his gods and temples expoſed, made a vow to aſſaſſinate Scheabbedin, and executed it.

THE race of Gaurides finiſhed in the year 1212, in the perſon of MAHMOUD, ſucceſſor and nephew to Scheabbedin. The days of this Mahmoud, like thoſe of his uncle, though for a different cauſe, were cut off by the ſwords of aſſaſſins. Whatever dominions Mahmoud poſſeſſed out of India, he does not ſeem to have had any great influence in it, or even in Gazna itſelf; he contrary to the practice of his predeceſſors, made not this city the capital of his ſovereignty. His uncle Scheabbedin, who had no children, and was remarkable for a ſpirit of adoption, had prepared the diſmemberment of the Indian provinces from the empire of Gazna, by giving the government of two of them to two of his ſlaves. Naſſereddin received from him the countries of Multan, Cothbeddin-Ibeck thoſe of Delhi. At the ſame time he made another of his ſlaves, Tagedin-Ildiz, governor of Gazna.

IN the year 1214 MOHAMED, the 6th Sultan of the dynaſty of the KHOWARASMIANS, whoſe territories were contiguous to thoſe of the Gaurides, took Gazna from the ſlave who had ſucceeded the ſlave Tageddin-

geddin-Ildiz in the government of that city. But although he conquered the capital of their empire, it does not appear that he fixed himſelf in the Indian dominions of the Gaurides. He imprudently quarrelled with GINGISCHAN, and in the year 1218 was compelled to fly before the arms of that mighty conqueror. In the year 1220 he died a fugitive, at a great diſtance from India.

THE brave GELALADDIN, ſon of Mohamed, made head in the province of Gazna againſt the forces of Gingiſchan: in the year 1221 he was ſo hard preſſed by them as to be forced to fly into India, where, on the weſtern banks of the Indus, he was totally defeated by Gingiſchan in perſon, but ſaved his life by ſwimming the river with an intrepidity which raiſed admiration in Gingiſchan himſelf. He remained in Multan until the year 1224, when he left India never more to return into it. He was killed in 1231 in Meſopotamia.

WITH Gelaladdin finiſhed the dynaſty of the Khowaraſmians; and what ſhare Gingiſchan or his ſucceſſors took in the affairs of Indoſtan, we have not had the good fortune to diſcover. We find that one Turmechirin Chan, ſtiled in Tamerlane's hiſtory a deſcendant of Gengis, and one of the great emperors of Aſia, penetrated in the year 1240 to the city of Mirte laying to the north-eaſt of Delhi, and made conqueſts which preſerved great reputation to his name in India, until the appearance of Tamerlane; but theſe conqueſts did not expel from the ſovereignty the family which at that time reigned in Delhi.

COTHBEDDIN-IBECK, the ſlave of Sheabeddin, rendered himſelf independant in the ſovereignty of Delhi, which had been given to him by his maſter only in vicegerence. He extended the mahomedan dominions, and died peaceably on his throne in the year 1219. He was ſucceeded by his ſon ARAMSCHAH, who was depoſed by his father's ſlave ILETMISCHE SCHAMSEDDIN.

THIS ILETMISCHE conquered from the ſlave Naſſereddin the provinces which compoſed the new kingdom of Multan. By uniting to the provinces of Delhi, and by governing all theſe dominions in perſon without intereſting himſelf in what paſſed out of India, he became the firſt regular and the moſt powerful mahomedan monarch who had hitherto reigned in Indoſtan. He died in the year 1235.

HIS deſcendants formed the dynaſty of the firſt mahomedan kings of Delhi.

FIROUZSCHAH ROCNEDDIN ſucceeded his father Iletmiſche, and before he had reigned a year was depoſed by his diſcontented grandees, who placed his ſiſter RADHIATEDDIN upon the throne; an extraordinary phænomenon in a mahomedan government. This female ſovereign was, after various adventures, depoſed by her brother Beharam Schah, and killed in attempting to make her eſcape from him.

BEHARAM SCHAH, after reigning two years, was killed in a revolt. MASSOUDSCHAH ALAEDDIN, ſon of Firouz Schah Rocneddin, then mounted the throne, and in the year 1246 was depoſed by his brother MAHMOUD SCHAH NASSEREDDIN, who made great conqueſts in India.

AFTER the death of Mahmoud Naſſereddin, Firouz his uncle and Alaeddin his nephew diſputed the throne. ALAEDDIN cauſed Firouz to be aſſaſſinated, and remained in poſſeſſion of the throne of Delhi until the year 1317.

HERE we arrive at a chaſm of near 80 years in the hiſtory of theſe kings, which our guide Monſ. D'Herbelot could not find materials to fill up. Sultan Mahmoud, who reigned at Delhi in the year 1398, is ſtiled by Tamerlane's hiſtorian the grandſon of the emperor Firouz Schah, concerning which Firouz Schah we can determine nothing more than that he was of the family of Iletmiſche.

MAHMOUD

MAHMOUD SCHAH, a weak prince, was governed abſolutely by his vizir Mellou Cawn, who placed his brother Sarenk in the government of the provinces which depended on the city of Multan, and the two brothers between them ruled the whole kingdom, without any other than a nominal interpoſition of their ſovereign.

THE Mirza Pir Mohammed Gehanguir had in the year 1392 received from his grandfather Tamerlane the ſovereignty of all the countries which had formed the empire of Mahmoud the Khowaraſmian, whom Gengiſchan conquered, and who was father of the brave Gelaleddin. Pir Mohammed, at the end of the year 1397, or the beginning of the year 1398, ſet out from his capital of Gazna, advanced with a numerous army to Multan and laid ſiege to the city, which was well defended by Sarenk.

DURING the ſiege TAMERLANE was advancing from Samarcande. He entered India at the end of the year 1398, deſcending more terrible than all its inundations from the center of the northern part of the Indian Caucaſus. This invincible barbarian met with no reſiſtance from the Indians ſufficient to juſtify, even by the military maxims of Tartars, the cruelties with which he marked his way. He was joined near Multan by his grandſon, who had now taken that city, and took in perſon the ſtrong fortreſs of Batnir; after which he marched towards Delhi. Here ſultan Mahmoud, with his vizir, had the courage to ſtand their ground, determined to riſk a battle with forces every way inferior to their enemies.

TAMERLANE, when in ſight of their army, ordered a hundred thouſand priſoners, which his own army had gathered in their rout, to be put to death, becauſe they were idolaters, and becauſe ſome of theſe wretches had betrayed ſymptoms of ſatisfaction at the ſight of a ſkirmiſh which had been fought with a party of ſultan Mahmoud's cavalry. As theſe marks of diſaffection had raiſed the apprehenſion of a general inſurrection of the ſlaves, during the battle which was now impending, Tamerlane enforced

enforced his order with the greateſt rigour, and it was executed with the utmoſt exactitude.

TWO or three days after this maſſacre, Tamerlane gave battle, and was, as ever, victorious. Sultan Mahmoud and his vizir fled into Delhi, and in the night fled out of it.

DELHI was taken without reſiſtance, and its inhabitants were ſubjected to the ſame pillage and cruelties, which we have ſeen renewed in this century by Thamas Kouli Khan in the preſent capital of Indoſtan, which, although bearing the ſame name, is not ſituated exactly on the ſame ſpot as the antient Delhi.

AFTER having made the regulations neceſſary to calm the convulſions which his cruelties had raiſed in the inhabitants of the metropolis of Indoſtan, Tamerlane marched to the north-eaſt towards the Ganges, not without reſiſtance maintained in ſome places with reſolution, in all in vain. He croſſed the Ganges at Toglipoor, and expoſing his perſon in every ſkirmiſh that offered with the ſpirit of a volunteer, advanced to the ſtraights of Kupele.

AT the foot of the mountains called Kentaſſi, in the country of Thibet, and in that part of them which lays between the thirty-firſt and thirty-ſecond degree of latitude and between the ninety-eighth and the hundredth degree of longitude, the Ganges, formed from ſeveral ſources, paſſes ſucceſſively two great lakes, and flows to the weſt until the oppoſition of a part of the Indian Caucaſus turns it to the ſouth, and ſoon after to the ſouth-eaſt, when at length flowing due ſouth, and having completed in theſe various directions a courſe of two hundred leagues, it enters India by forcing its paſſage through the mountains of the frontier.

THE paſs through which the Ganges diſembogues itſelf into Indoſtan is called the ſtraights of Kupele, which are diſtant from Delhi about 30 Leagues, in the longitude of 96, and in the latitude of 30. 2. Theſe ſtraights are believed by the Indians, who look very little abroad, to be the

ſources

ſources of the Ganges; and a rock 15 miles diſtant from them, bearing ſome reſemblance to the head of a cow, has joined in the ſame part of the kingdom two very important objects of their religion; the grand image of the animal which they almoſt venerate as a divinity, and the firſt appearance of that immenſe body of holy water which waſhes away all their ſins.

A GREAT multitude of Indians were aſſembled, probably for the celebration of a feaſt, at the ſtreights of Kupele. They made ſome ſhew of reſiſtance againſt Tamerlane's army, but were no ſooner attacked than diſperſed. The field of this victory is the moſt diſtant term of Tamerlane's conqueſts in India and on the globe.

HE now prepared to return to his capital of Samarcande, and repaſſed the Ganges; after which he directed his march along the foot of mount Caucaſus, until he arrived at the ſouthern frontiers of Kaſhmire, the mahomedan king of which country ſent ambaſſadors to make ſubmiſſion. As this rout was through countries which the army had not hitherto paſſed, the ſword was not yet ſheathed, but large detachments were making excurſions to the ſouth, whilſt Tamerlane reſerved to himſelf the taſk of ſubduing the mountaineers who made any reſiſtance, or refuſed to acknowledge his ſovereignty.

FROM the frontiers of Kaſhmire to the frontiers of Indoſtan, the army paſſed through countries which had ſubmitted to Tamerlane at his entrance into India; and the march out of India was through the mountains of Sheberto, a part of the Caucaſus. From hence Tamerlane haſtened to Samarcande. Having repoſed a few months in this capital of his vaſt dominions, he ſet out on the great expedition in which he ſubdued Syria and the Kalif of Egypt, vanquiſhed Bajazet, and by the addition of theſe conqueſts to thoſe he had made before, render'd himſelf lord of an empire which extended from Smyrna to the banks of the Ganges.

TAMER-

TAMERLANE never returned into India, but added the conqueſts he had made in it to the government of his grandſon Pir Mohammed Gehanguir, who ruled from Gazna the mahomedan dominions of Indoſtan until the death of his grandfather, which happened in the year 1404. An event in which ſo many princes were intereſted did not fail to raiſe great commotions amongſt the princes of his family. On his death-bed Tamerlane named Pir Mohammed Gehan Ghir the univerſal heir of all his dominions. The contempt with which his will was treated after his death, was equal to the veneration which had been paid to his authority during his life. The Sultan Khalil, another of his grandſons, immediately took poſſeſſion of the capital of Samarcande, and proclaimed himſelf emperor. Pir Mohammed did not live long enough to aſſert his rights, but was aſſaſſinated ſix months after the death of his grandfather.

THE Sultan Sharock, the youngeſt of the two ſurviving ſons of Tamerlane, ſucceeded to the inheritance deſigned for Gehanguir: he reigned near 42 years, during which the conqueſts of his father in India ſeem to have remained in ſubjection to his authority.

THERE is in Europe a very fine hiſtory of the life of this prince, and of his deſcendants, continued to the year 1497. There are likewiſe in England materials ſufficient to form a hiſtory of the dependance in which India remained to the poſterity of Tamerlane, until one of them erected the new dynaſty of mahomedan emperors in Indoſtan, which is that of the preſent Great Moguls; but theſe tracts, hitherto little regarded by thoſe, whoſe fortunes alone could furniſh the expence of preſenting them to the public in languages of common uſe, remain out of the reach of public curioſity by the difficulties attending the ſtudy of thoſe in which they are written.

A FEW ſcraps detached from one another by conſiderable intervals of time, and by ſubjects of little connection with each other, would be of little

little uſe to guide us through ſuch a length of obſcurity as that in which we view at preſent the hiſtory of Tamerlane's ſucceſſors in India, until the time of Sultan Babr: and this obſcurity muſt remain, until the original hiſtories brought into England by Mr. Frazer, or others equivalent to them, ſhall be publiſhed.

THE SULLAN BABR was the 6th in deſcent, not from Sharoch, but from the Mirza Miran Schah, another of the ſons of Tamerlane; this Babr, yielding to the conqueſts of the Uſbeg Tartars, retired from the country of Mawhranhar towards India: after making ſeveral expeditions into Indoſtan, he at laſt in the year 1526 defeated Sultan Ibrahim Loudi and became emperor of Delhi. Who Sultan Ibrahim Loudi was, will in all probability be known, when the commentaries of Sultan Babr, wrote by himſelf, and which are at Oxford, ſhall be tranſlated. After making ſtill farther conqueſts in Indoſtan, Sultan Babr died near Agra in the December of the year 1530.

THE pride of the Great Moguls deſcended from Sultan Babr, in vaunting in their titles and on all other occaſions, their deſcent from Tamerlane, has given riſe to the common belief, that the throne of Delhi and the whole extent of the conqueſts made by Tamerlane in India, were maintained by his poſterity in a regular filiation, and without interruption. But ſuch a ſucceſſion would have given no room for Sultan Babr's conqueſts over a ſtranger, as Sultan Loudi appears to be, and would have excluded him from the honor of being the founder of the preſent dynaſty of Great Moguls.

HOMAION ſucceeded to his father Babr, and in 1540 fled into Perſia before the Affghans, whom we imagine to have been the Mahomedan ſubjects of Sultan Ibrahim Loudi conquered by Babr. By the aſſiſtance of the king of Perſia Homaion recovered his empire in 1555, and died in 1556. Before his flight he had conquered and added to the Mogul dominions the kingdoms of Guzerat and Malva; and what was ſtill

a more important acquiſition, had rendered himſelf maſter of the rich kingdom of Bengal.

ACBAR ſucceeded his father Homaion, and died after a reign of near 50 years in 1605. He extended the empire, but not far enough to the ſouthward to prevent him from vouchſafing to ſtile the king of Portugal his neighbour, in virtue of the territories poſſeſſed by that nation near Goa on the coaſt of Malabar.

To Acbar ſucceeded his ſon JEHANGUIR who died in 1627. A weak prince enſlaved by the influence of his miſtreſs Nourjehan, confined in his perſon, and conſtrained in his government, by the ambition of his ſon Gehan Schah. Sir Thomas Roe was ſent embaſſador to Jehanguir by king James the firſt.

SCHAH GEHAN ſucceeded to his father Jehanguir; and after a reign ſucceſsful until the change of his fortunes, to which a ſickneſs of languor occaſioned by intemperance in his ſeraglio gave riſe, was depoſed and confined by his ſon Aurengzebe, and died in 1666.

THERE is not a more curious piece of hiſtory than that of the rebellion of Aurengzebe againſt his father, written by Mr. Bernier. After having murdered his three brothers and ſome of their children, to acquire the throne, Aurengzebe maintained himſelf in it near 50 years, with ſo ſtrict an attention to the government of his empire, as entitles him to be ranked with the ableſt princes, who have reigned in any age or country. He conquered more than half the provinces of the Peninſula of India in perſon, and his viceroys conquered or ſubjected almoſt all the reſt, the ſea coaſts of Malabar excepted. The revenues of the empire amounted in his time to near thirty-eight millions of pounds ſterling. He died in 1707.

BUT all the abilities of Aurengzebe did not give to him the power of ſecuring his crown to one of his ſons in preference to the reſt, and

and it appears by his will that he foreſaw the conteſts which enſued amongſt them after his death. His ſons Azem Schah, and Mahomed Mauzm fought at the head of armies not equalled ſince the time of Tamerlane. That of Mahomed Mauzm conſiſted of more than three hundred thouſand fighting men, of which one hundred and fifty thouſand were cavalry. Azem, who ſeems by his father's will to have been the favourite, was defeated and killed, and Mauzm was proclaimed emperor, under the title of BAHADR SCHAH, after which he attacked his brother Kaunbukſh, who was taken priſoner and died of his wounds. Bahadr Schah died after reigning about ſix years according to Mr. Frazer.

OF four ſons which ſurvived their father Behadr Schah, three joined againſt the other, defeated and killed him, and then JEHANDER SCHAH ſeparated from the other two, defeated and put them to death; after which he was proclaimed emperor; but as he was a very weak prince, and infatuated by his miſtreſs Lal Koar, who had been a public ſinger; two brothers the principal men of his court dethroned him, and placed on the throne MAHOMED FURUKSHIR ſon to AZEM Schah, the prince who fell the firſt of the three brothers, by whoſe deaths Jehander Schah acquired the crown.

WE know not what term to give to the reign of Jehander Schah the predeceſſor of Furrukſhir, as Mr. Frazer who is now the guide to whom we are moſt indebted for the hiſtory of this dynaſty, ſeems to have made a miſtake in the chronology of this period. Aurengzebe is ſaid to have died in February 1707, and Mahomed Furrukſir in February 1719, which dates give an interval of twelve years. At the ſame time Bahadr Schah the ſucceſſor of Aurengzebe is ſaid to have reigned about ſix years, Mahomed Furrukſir the ſucceſſor of Jehandar Schah to have reigned ſeven: So that we have in the reigns of theſe two princes, without the interpoſition of Jehander Schah, more than the term which elapſed between the deaths of Aurengzebe and Mahomed Furrukſir, whoſe deaths are aſcertained by dates. Mr. Frazer has not aſcertained the term of Jehander Schah's reign, but if thoſe of Behadr Schah and Furrukſir

could be authentically reduced into the ſpace to which they muſt be confined, it would be ſufficient according to the ideas of Mogul hiſtory, that Jehander Schah only accompliſhed the ceremony of being placed on the throne of Delhi, to entitle him to be ranked in the liſt of its monarchs.

BY that dependance to the great men of the kingdom to which their conteſts for the crown had reduced the deſcendants of Aurengzebe, the emperors elected, although deſpotic with the multitude, aſcended the throne in bonds, and were in reality nothing more than the ſlaves of their miniſters.

STILL the blood of Tamerlane continued to be held in too great veneration throughout the empire, to permit any others than his deſcendants to entertain the thoughts of aſcending the throne with impunity. Thoſe who ſtood neareſt to the throne, in virtue of their offices and power, were therefore contented to rule the empire as they pleaſed, by ſhewing to the people a pompous ſovereign, who in reality commanded nothing but the women of his ſeraglio.

FURRUCKSIR was the firſt of the Great Moguls, whoſe father had not been emperor, and we ſhall ſoon ſee more examples of this oblique ſucceſſion. The ſame lords who had raiſed, depoſed him as a meaſure neceſſary to their own ſecurity. Not content with confining him, they put out his eyes; but even this degree of imbecillity and wretchedneſs to which they had reduced an emperor of Indoſtan did not appeaſe their fears or reſentments, for they murdered him on the 16th of February 1719, after overwhelming him with a thouſand indignities and inſults.

THE depoſers of Furrukſir placed on the throne his couſin german Raffeih al Dirjat ſon of Raffeih al Shan, one of the brothers from whom the emperor Jehandar Schah won the crown. Raffeih al Dirjat was taken out of the caſtle in which thoſe of the royal family who are not murdered are ſuffered to live. This change of his fortunes was not

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more extraordinary than it was of ſhort duration, for the ſame diſpoſers of the throne who had made him emperor, murdered him when he had ſcarcely reigned three months.

THEY ſent for his brother Raffeih al Dowlet, in all appearance from out of the ſame retreat from which they had taken his predeceſſor, to ſucceed Raffeih al Dirjat. The reign of this emperor was of ſhorter duration than that of his brother, for he died within a few days after he had been placed on the throne, and his death was not ſuſpected to be the effect of poiſon.

MAHOMED Schah was now proclaimed by the two brothers Abdallah Khan, and Hoſſan Ally Khan, whom we have ſeen powerful enough to make four and depoſe five emperors of Indoſtan. If there were no interreigns we have likewiſe ſeen four emperors on the throne in the ſpace of four months.

MAHOMED Schah was ſon of Jehan Schah, another of the three princes who periſhed in diſputing the crown with their brother Jehandar Schah. So that a ſon of each of theſe three unfortunate princes became emperor only to be as unfortunate as his father.

BUT the greateſt humiliation if not the moſt tragical exit was reſerved for Mahomed Schah. The beginning of his reign was not without a ſtroke of authority in the mode of eaſtern politics. The courtiers to pleaſe him aſſaſſinated Hoſſan Ally Khan one of the two brothers whoſe hands had been imbrued in ſo much of the blood of his family.

THE other brother Abdullah Caun immediately appeared in arms, and oppoſed another emperor of his own nomination to Mahomed Schah. A battle enſued, in which Abdullah was taken priſoner. He died three months afterwards of his wounds; and it is ſaid, that he had received the aſſurance of his pardon from Mahomed Schah, which, if true, is

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an example of clemency very rarely found in the politics of Aſiatic monarchs.

THE removal of two ſuch dangerous enemies to the throne, placed Mahomed Schah in poſſeſſion of it with a ſecurity unknown to his predeceſſors, ſince the reign of Aurengzebe; but this ſecurity ſerved only to render him unworthy of it. Indolent, ſenſual, and irreſolute, he voluntarily gave to favourites as great a degree of power, as that which the miniſters of the throne had lately poſſeſſed in defiance of the will of their ſovereigns. The fatal moment approached, in which a foreigner was to determine whether he ſhould exterminate the race of Tamerlane, and annex the richeſt empire of the univerſe to his own. The favourites of Mahomed Schah quarrelled with Nizam al Muluck the viceroy of the ſouthern provinces, who had under his juriſdiction very near a fourth part of the empire, and who without rebellion had rendered himſelf almoſt independant of the emperor. Bred under the eye of Aurengzebe, Nizam al Muluck cenſured openly and in the ſtrongeſt terms, the lethargick and puſillanimous adminiſtration, as well as the profligate and diſſolute manners of the court of Mahomed Schah. At laſt pretending that there could be no remedy to ſuch deſperate evils, but in a total revolution of the empire, he adviſed Thamas Kouli Khan, who had uſurped the throne of Perſia, to come and take poſſeſſion of that of Indoſtan; and Thamas Kouli Khan followed his advice.

Mr. FRAZER has left us an authentic account of this extraordinary revolution. An army famiſhed by its own numbers, commanded by chiefs unanimous in nothing but their unwillingneſs to fight, and theſe by an emperor who could not command his fears, ſubmitted to enemies whom they outnumbered five to one: but theſe enemies had been inured to conflicts under the moſt deſperate ſoldier of the age, and were rendered invincible by the expectation of plundering the capital of the richeſt empire in the world. A ſkirmiſh decided the fate of this empire. Mahomed Schah laid his regalia at the feet of Thamas Kouli Khan

Khan, who took poſſeſſion of Delhi, plundered it, and maſſacred a hundred thouſand of its inhabitants.

THE conqueror reſerving to himſelf all the countries lying to the weſtward of the rivers Indus and Attock, reſtored all the reſt to Mahomed Schah, and reinſtated him in the throne with formalities; after which he returned to Perſia, carrying with him out of Indoſtan a treaſure, which in effects, ſilver, gold and jewels, was valued at more than ſeventy milions of pounds ſterling. He entered India from Kandahar in the beginning of the year 1738, and returned to Kandahar at the end of the year 1739. This dreadful incurſion is reckoned to have coſt Indoſtan, beſides its treaſures, the loſs of two hundred thouſand lives.

THE cruelties exerciſed in India by Thamas Kouli Khan, were ſuch that a derviſe had the courage to preſent a writing to him, conceived in theſe terms: " If thou art a god, act as a god; if thou art a prophet, " conduct us in the way of ſalvation; if thou art a king, render the " people happy, and do not deſtroy them." To which the barbarian replied, " I am no god, to act as a god; nor a prophet, to ſhew the way " of ſalvation; nor a king, to render the people happy; but I am he " whom God ſends to the nations which he has determined to viſit with " his wrath."

SECTION

SECTION III.

THE northern nations of India, although idolaters, having ſcarce a religion, when compared to the multitude of ſuperſtitions and ceremonies which characteriſe the inhabitants of the ſouthern countries, were eaſily induced to embrace Mahomedaniſm, and are at this day the Affghans or Pitans, who figure ſo much in all the late revolutions of Delhi. Excepting theſe, few of the other Indians have been converted.

THE armies which made the firſt conqueſts for the heads of the reſpective dynaſties, or for other incurſors, left behind them numbers of Mahomedans, who, ſeduced by a finer climate and a richer country, forgot their own.

The Mahomedan princes of India naturally gave a preference to the ſervice of men of their own religion, who, from whatever country they came, were of a more vigorous conſtitution than the ſtouteſt of the ſubjected nation: this preference has continually encouraged adventurers from Tartary, Perſia, and Arabia, to ſeek their fortunes under a govenment, from which they were ſure of receiving greater encouragement than they could expect at home.

FROM theſe origins, time has formed in India a mighty nation of near ten millions of Mahomedans, whom Europeans call Moors: to them, under the authority of the Great Mogul, the greateſt part of Indoſtan is now ſubject: but, although the reigning nation, they are outnumbered by the Indians ten to one.

THIS inferiority of number, has obliged the Mahomedans to leave, in all parts of Indoſtan, many Indian princes in poſſeſſion of their reſpective ſovereignties, which they are permitted to govern without moleſtation, on condition that they pay the ſtipulated tribute, and do not infringe

infringe any other of the articles of the treaties by which they or their anceſtors have acknowledged the ſovereignty of the Great Mogul. Theſe Indian princes are called Rajas, i. e. kings: more than one half of the empire is at this day ſubject to theſe Rajas, of which ſome are princes of very ſmall territories, and others, ſuch as Jaſſeing and Jeſſemſeing mentioned by Mr. Bernier in the hiſtory of Aurengzebe, as alſo the kings of Myſore and Tanjore mentioned in the hiſtory of the preſent wars of Coromandel, poſſeſs dominions larger than thoſe of the kings of Pruſſia and Portugal. Many of them pretend to great antiquity of family, and one, whom the emperor Acbar conquered, boaſted his deſcent from Porus.

BESIDES the Indians who reſide in the territories of the Rajas, there are every where ſeen great numbers of them in thoſe parts of the country which are immediately ſubject to the Great Mogul without the interpoſition of an Indian prince to govern them. They are the only cultivators of the land, and the only manufacturers of the immenſe quantities of linnen which are made in the empire; inſomuch that at a diſtance from the capital cities, the great trading towns, the encampments of armies, and the high roads, it is rare to ſee in the villages or fields a Mahomedan employed in any thing except levying contributions or acting in ſome other reſpect as an officer of the Great Mogul.

INTELLIGENT enquirers aſſert that there are no written laws amongſt the Indians, but that a few maxims tranſmitted by tradition ſupply the place of ſuch a code in the diſcuſſion of civil cauſes; and that the ancient practice, corrected on particular occaſions by the good ſenſe of the judge, decides abſolutely in criminal ones. In all caſes derived from the relations of blood, the Indian is worthy to be truſted with the greateſt confidence; but in caſes of property, in which this relation does not exiſt, as a cunning ſubtil people they are perpetually in diſputes; and for the want of a written code the juſtice or injuſtice of the deciſion depends on the integrity or venality of the judge. Hence the parties prefer to ſubmit their cauſe to the deciſion of arbitrators choſe by themſelves, rather than to that of the officers appointed by the government.

THE Alcoran is to the Mahomedans at once the ſource of their religious inſtitutions, of their civil law, and of the adminiſtration of juſtice in criminal caſes. The two firſt of theſe heads have been as copiouſly commented on as in any religion or government whatſoever.

THE Mulla in Indoſtan ſuperintends the practice and puniſhes the breach of religious duties, the Cadi holds courts in which are tried all diſputes of property, and the Catwal is the judge and executor of juſtice in criminal caſes.

AN accurate deſcription of the functions allotted to the Cadi and the Mulla, would require a volume, which we have not materials to furniſh; and if furniſhed, this volume would leave us but imperfectly informed of the general adminiſtration of juſtice in the caſes ſuppoſed to fall under the juriſdiction of theſe officers; ſince the ſovereign or his delegate perpetually wreſts all kinds of cauſes from the common forms of trial, and decides them himſelf without appeal. Some notion of the Catwal is given by Mr. Thevenot: the puniſhments inflicted by this tribunal, are different from thoſe preſcribed by the Alcoran; from the precepts of which the Catwal likewiſe deviates in exerciſing the torture, and it contradicts them, in being always open to bribery.

WE ſee in thoſe parts of Indoſtan which are frequented by the European nations, the cuſtoms or laws which regard lands ſubject to contradictions not eaſily reconcileable. The huſbandman who poſſeſſes a few fields has the power of ſelling and bequeathing them, at the ſame time that the diſtrict in which theſe fields are included is annually let out by the government to a renter, who pays a certain ſum of money to the lord of the country, and receives from the cultivator a certain part of his harveſts. The renter ſometimes quarrels with the huſbandman, and diſplaces him from his poſſeſſions: clamours as againſt the higheſt degree of injuſtice enſue; the prince interferes, and generally redreſſes the poor man, who has ſo much need of ſupport in ſuch a cauſe of miſery; and if he fails to give this proof of his inclination to juſtice, he is held in execration, and deemed capable of any iniquity.

IN

In all the countries abſolutely ſubjected, the Great Mogul ſtiles himſelf proprietor of all the lands, and gives portions of them at will as revenues for life to his feudatories; but ſtill theſe grants take not away from the cultivator the right of ſale and bequeſt. The policy of all the Indian governments of Indoſtan, as well as that of the Great Mogul, ſeems to conſiſt more in a perpetual attention to prevent any one family from obtaining great poſſeſſions, than in the intention of making ſlaves of the body of the people; for ſuch a ſlavery would ſoon leave the monarch little grandeur to boaſt of, and few ſubjects to command. As all acquiſitions of land are ſubject to the inſpection of the government, the man who ſhould attempt to make himſelf proprietor of a large eſtate in land, would be refuſed the certificates neceſſary to put him in poſſeſſion, and would be marked as a victim neceſſary to be ſacrificed to the policy of the ſtate. From what we ſee in the hiſtories of this and other eaſtern countries, the violences committed amongſt the great, lead us to think that the man of more humble condition is ſubject to ſtill greater violences; when, on the contrary, this humility is the beſt of protections.

The Feudatory, by the acceptance of a certain title and the penſion which accompanies it, acknowledges the Great Mogul his heir. No man, from the Vizir downwards, has any truſt of importance repoſed in him but on theſe terms, and on his deceaſe the whole of his property that can be found is ſeized for the uſe of the emperor, who gives back to the family what portion he pleaſes. The eſtates of all who are not feudatories deſcend to the natural heirs.

These barriers raiſed againſt the aggrandizement of particular families became abſolutely neceſſary in a ſtate, neceſſitated to repoſe very great truſts in particular men.

The whole extent of Indoſtan is not divided into more than twenty-four provinces: each of theſe include ſeveral Indian principalities. A very large army ready to move at the firſt warning was found neceſſary to

coerce the Raja's; the ſame force divided under ſeveral diſtinct commanders would have been ineffectual. Hence it was neceſſary to give a large tract of country to the government of a ſingle officer, or to relinquiſh the deſign of extending the dominion.

THIS officer, now well known in Europe by the title of Nabob, was made ſubject to the controul of others who reſided in the province with him, and over whom he had no authority. The ſovereign reſerved to himſelf the power of life and death. Civil cauſes were reſerved to the Cadi, and the revenues and expences of the province were ſubject to the examination of the Duan, who managed the cuſtoms and took poſſeſſion for the emperor of the eſtates of the feudatories who died. The Great Mogul gave the government of the ſtrongeſt holds in the province to governors who were in nothing ſubject to the Nabob. He was called to court, kept there, or tranſlated into another government, whenever the miniſtry thought theſe changes neceſſary; and there was a time when they were ſo frequent, that a new Nabob left Delhi riding contrary to the uſual manner with his back turned to the head of his elephant, and gave for a reaſon, "That he was looking out for his ſucceſſor."

THE diviſions of the royal family gave the Nabobs of provinces diſtant from the capital, opportunities of acquiring a ſtability in their governments, and the court was now content to receive a ſtipulated ſum, in lieu of the real revenues of the province, in which the Nabob became little leſs than abſolute, and had nothing to fear but an army from Delhi, which was always coming, and never came. But even before they arrived at this ſtate of independance, we find them exerciſing the cruel caprices of deſpotiſm, on wretches too weak to raiſe their complaints to the throne. Mandleſlow tells a ſtory of a Nabob who cut off the heads of a ſet of dancing girls, that is, of a company of very handſome women, becauſe they did not come to his palace on the firſt ſummons. In Tavernier we ſee a man, who murders his wife, four children, and thirteen ſlaves, and is left unpuniſhed, becauſe he is the perſon on whom the Nabob relied for the cure of a diſtemper.

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THE relations of all the travellers into Indoſtan abound with examples of the vices of theſe princes. It has been obſerved, that all the Mahomedans eſtabliſhed in India acquire, in the third generation, the indolence and puſillanimity of the original inhabitants, and at the ſame time a cruelty of character to which the Indians are at preſent happily ſtrangers. Hence we are almoſt induced to give aſſent to the opinion, that the prohibition of ſhedding blood of any kind, inculcated by the Indian religion, was a political inſtitution, wiſely calculated to change into gentler manners the ſanguinary diſpoſition, which is ſaid to have characteriſed all the inhabitants of Indoſtan before the religion of Brama was introduced amongſt them.

The END *of the* DISSERTATION.

A

HISTORY

OF THE

MILITARY TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

BRITISH NATION

IN

INDOSTAN,

FROM THE YEAR MDCCXLV.

INDOSTAN.

IN

BRITISH MINIATURE

OF THE

MILITARY TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

LATE WAR.

A HISTORY OF THE MILITARY TRANSACTIONS OF THE BRITISH NATION IN INDOSTAN, FROM THE YEAR MDCCXLV.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Engliſh eſtabliſhments in the kingdom of Indoſtan are divided into three governments, independant of each other. Bombay commands the factories on the weſtern ſide of the peninſula, commonly called the Malabar coaſt; together with thoſe in Perſia: the eſtabliſhments and poſſeſſions on the eaſtern or Coromandel coaſt are under the government of Madraſs: and thoſe in Bengal depend on Calcutta. From the year 1745 to the concluſion of the late peace, the

Engliſh have been continually engaged in war, in one or other of theſe diviſions: and the preſervation of their commerce in the Eaſt Indies abſolutely depended on the conduct and ſucceſs of the wars of Coromandel and Bengal. We have therefore thought that a general hiſtory of their military tranſactions in Indoſtan, during this period, would not be unacceptable to the public; more eſpecially as there is no part of the world in which the Britiſh arms have, of late years, acquired more honour.

BOOK I.

THE WAR OF COROMANDEL.

THE war declared between Great Britain and France in 1744, extended its operations to the ſettlements of the two nations in India: peace was no ſooner reſtored to them by the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, than they took up arms againſt one another, on the coaſt of Coromandel, as allies to two Mooriſh lords contending for the poſſeſſion of the province of Carnatica. The competition between theſe lords had its riſe in events, which happened ſeveral years before the Engliſh or French took part in it; it therefore becomes neceſſary to deſcribe thoſe events; and as the government, policy, and cuſtoms of the nations of Indoſtan differ greatly from thoſe of Europe, we ſhall endeavour, in the courſe of our narrative, to give as much of their character and manners, as appears neceſſary for the intelligence of the facts which we relate.

Moſt of the the countries which have been conquered by the Great Mogul in the peninſula of India, are comprized under one viceroyalty, called from its ſituation the Decan, or ſouth. From the word Soubah, ſignifying a province, the viceroy of this vaſt territory, is called Soubahdar, and by Europeans improperly Soubah. Of the countries under his juriſdiction, ſome are entirely ſubjected to the throne of Delhi, and governed by Mahomedans, whom Europeans as improperly call Moors; whilſt others remain under the government of their original Indian princes or Rajahs, and are ſuffered to follow their ancient modes on

condition of paying tribute to the Great Mogul. The Mooriſh governors dependant on the Soubah, aſſume, when treating with their inferiors, the title of Nabob, which ſignifies Deputy: but this in the regiſters of the throne is ſynonimous to Soubahdar, and the greateſt part of thoſe who ſtile themſelves Navabs, or Nabobs, are ranked at Delhi under the title of Phous-dar, which is much inferior to that which they aſſume, ſignifying no more than the commander of a body of forces. The Europeans eſtabliſhed in the territories of theſe Pſeudo-Nabobs (if we may be allowed the expreſſion) following the example of the natives with whom they have moſt intercourſe, have agreed in giving them the title they ſo much affect. In deference therefore to the cuſtom which has prevailed, we ſhall leave them in poſſeſſion of it, and in the courſe of our narration ſhall diſtinguiſh the great viceroy by that of Soubah.

A Nabob ought to hold his commiſſion from Delhi, and if at his death a ſucceſſor has not been previouſly appointed by the Great Mogul, the Soubah has the right of naming a perſon to adminiſter the Nabobſhip until the will of the Sovereign is known; but a Nabob thus appointed by a Soubah is not deemed authentically eſtabliſhed until he is confirmed from Delhi. The Soubah receives from the ſeveral Nabobs the annual revenues of the crown, and remits them to the treaſury of the Empire. The Nabobs are obliged to accompany him in all military expeditions within the extent of his viceroyalty, but not in any without that extent. Theſe regulations were intended to place them in ſuch a ſtate of dependance on the Soubah as ſhould render them ſubſervient to the intereſts of the Empire, and at the ſame time leave them in a ſtate of independance, which would render it difficult for the Soubah to make uſe of their aſſiſtance to brave the throne.

The conſtitution of the Mogul Empire began to loſe its vigour immediately after the death of Aurengzebe, the ableſt monarch that ever reigned over Indoſtan; but ſince the dreadful incurſion of the Perſians under Thamas Kouli Khan, it has declined daily more and more: ſo that during the laſt fifty years, Soubahs have been ſeen to maintain themſelves in their governments againſt the will of the throne, and have conſequently appointed Nabobs under them with as little regard

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to its authority; Nabobs likewiſe have kept poſſeſſion of their governments in oppoſition both to the Soubah and the throne; and what is more extraordinary in the offices of a deſpotic ſtate, both Soubahs and Nabobs have named their ſucceſſors, who have often ſucceeded with as little oppoſition as if they had been the heirs apparent of an hereditary dominion. What we have ſaid of the government of the ſouthern provinces, is equally applicable to all the other Soubahſhips of the Empire.

The Carnatic is one of the moſt conſiderable Nabobſhips dependant on the Soubah of the Decan: from its capital it is likewiſe named the province of Arcot; but its preſent limits are greatly inferior to thoſe which bounded the ancient Carnatic before it was conquered by the Great Mogul; for we do not find that the Nabobs of Arcot have ever extended their authority beyond the river Gondegama to the north, the great chain of mountains to the weſt, and the borders of the kingdoms of Tritchanopoly, Tanjore, and Myſore to the ſouth. The ſea bounds it to the eaſt. It was not before the beginning of the preſent century that this country was entirely reduced by the Moors.

Sadatulla, a regular and acknowledged Nabob of the Carnatic, having no iſſue, adopted the two ſons of his brother; appointing the elder, Doaſt-ally, to ſucceed in the Nabobſhip; and conferring on the younger, Boker-ally, the government of Velore; he likewiſe directed that Gulam Haſſain, the nephew of his favourite wife, ſhould be Duan or prime miniſter to his ſucceſſor. Having reigned from the year 1710 to 1732, he died much regretted by his ſubjects. 1710. 1732.

The diſpoſitions he had made were fulfilled without oppoſition or difficulty; but Nizam-al-muluck, the Soubah of the ſouthern provinces, beheld the acceſſion of Doaſt-ally with averſion, ſince it took effect without that deference to his authority which he was determined to eſtabliſh throughout all the governments under his juriſdiction. The jealouſy of this powerful ſuperior prevented Doaſt-ally from procuring a regular confirmation from Delhi: it is ſaid that he only obtained ſome letters of approbation from the vizir, without the proper forms of an authentic commiſſion.

Doaſt-

1732. Doaſt-ally had two ſons, of whom the eldeſt, Subder-ally, was arrived at man's eſtate when his father ſucceeded to the Nabobſhip: he had likewiſe ſeveral daughters, one of whom he had at that time given in marriage to his nephew Mortiz-ally, ſon of Boker-ally; and another to a more diſtant relation named Chunda-ſaheb. This lord gave his own daughter by a former wife in marriage to Gulam Haſſain, and availing himſelf of the incapacity of his ſon-in-law, obtained the Nabob's permiſſion to adminiſter the office of Duan in his ſtead.

The kingdoms of Tritchanopoly and Tanjore, although tributary to the Great Mogul, were each of them governed by its own prince or Raja, and the care of levying the tributes of theſe countries was intruſted to the Nabobs of Arcot, who were ſometimes obliged to ſend an army to facilitate the collection of them. The death of the king of
1736. Tritchanopoly in 1736, was followed by diſputes between the queen and a prince of the royal blood, which produced a confuſion in the government ſufficient to give the Nabob of Arcot hopes of ſubjecting the kingdom to his authority. He therefore determined to ſend an army under the command of his ſon Subder-ally and the Duan Chunda-ſaheb to ſeize on any opportunity which might offer of getting poſſeſſion of the city of Tritchanopoly; but to prevent ſuſpicions, the collection of the tribute was given out as the only intention of the expedition, and the army was ordered to move leiſurely down to the ſea-coaſt, before they proceeded to the ſouth: accordingly they came to Madraſs, where they remained ſome days, and then went to Pondicherry, where they ſtaid a longer time; during which, Chunda-ſaheb laid the firſt foundation of his connexions with the French government in that city: from hence they marched to Tritchanopoly.

By intrigues, of which we have not the details, Chunda-ſaheb prevailed on the queen to admit him with a body of troops into the city, having firſt taken an oath on the Koran, that he would act in nothing to her detriment: the people of the country ſay that ſhe fell in love with him; if ſo, ſhe was ill requited, for he ſoon after ſeduced the garriſon, ſeized the city, and confined her to a priſon, where ſhe died of grief. The ſubmiſſion of the reſt of the kingdom ſoon followed that

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of the capital; after which, Subder-ally leaving Chunda-ſaheb to govern theſe new acquiſitions, returned to his father at Arcot, who appointed Meer-aſſud, the preceptor of Subder-ally, to ſucceed Chunda-ſaheb in the office of Duan. 1736.

The new Duan was well acquainted with the ambitious character of his predeceſſor, and repreſented to Subder-ally the conſequences which were to be apprehended from a man of ſuch dangerous views, placed in a government of ſuch importance. Subder-ally ſaw his error when it was too late to redreſs it; for when he repreſented to his father the neceſſity of recalling Chunda-ſaheb to Arcot, the Nabob, apprehenſive of open ruptures in his family, and attached to his own ſon-in-law from an opinion of his abilities, could not be induced to follow Meer-aſſud's advice.

Chunda-ſaheb hearing what had been attempted againſt him, took meaſures to ſecure himſelf: he put the city of Tritchanopoly in a good ſtate of defence, and placed his two brothers in the ſtrongeſt towns dependant on his ſovereignty; Buda-ſaheb in Madura, and Saduck-ſaheb in Dindigul: but notwithſtanding theſe preparations, he determined not to throw off his allegiance to the Nabob, before he ſhould be openly attacked.

Nizam-al-muluck's reſentments againſt the family of Doaſt-ally increaſed with their acquiſitions; for, notwithſtanding the independency affected by Chunda-ſaheb, he did not doubt that the force of Tritchanopoly would always be united with that of Arcot, whenever danger from foreign powers threatned either of the two governments. But his attention was for ſome years taken up by affairs of much greater importance than the reducing of this family to his obedience. At one time, he was preparing to join the great Mogul, whom he wiſhed to ſee dethroned, againſt Thamas Kouli Khan, whom he had invited to invade the Empire: and after the Perſian left Indoſtan, he was obliged to keep his arms turned towards Delhi, where he was equally dreaded and deteſted. Thus prevented from marching into the Carnatic, he at length determined to give the Morattoes permiſſion to attack it. By this meaſure he ſatisfied, in part, the obligations he lay 1739.

under

1739. under to that nation, and at the ſame time employed a force, which, next to his own, was the moſt capable of conquering the dominions of Doaſt-ally.

The country of the Morattoes lies between Bombay and Gol-Kondah: its limits are not known with any degree of certainty to Europeans, and we are equally ignorant of the origin and hiſtory of the people. They have now figured for near a century, as the moſt enterprizing ſoldiers of Indoſtan, and as the only nation of Indians, which ſeems to make war an occupation by choice; for the Rajpouts are ſoldiers by birth. Of late years they have often been at the gates of Delhi; ſometimes in arms againſt the throne: at others, in defence of it againſt the Affghans or Pitans. The ſtrength of their armies conſiſts in their numerous cavalry, which is more capable of reſiſting fatigue than any in India; large bodies of them having been known to march fifty miles in a day. They avoid general engagements, and ſeem to have no other idea in making war, but that of doing as much miſchief as poſſible to the enemy's country. This they effect by driving off the cattle, deſtroying the harveſts, burning the villages, and by exerciſing ſuch cruelties as makes the people of the open country take flight on the firſt rumours of their approach. The rapidity of their motions leaves the prince with whom they war little chance of ſtriking a deciſive blow againſt them, or even of attacking with effect any of their detachments. Hence the expence of maintaining an army in the field with very little probability of even fighting ſuch an enemy, and the greater detriment ariſing from the devaſtations they commit, generally induce the governments they attack to purchaſe their retreat with money. Great parſimony in their expences, and continued collections of treaſure by the means now deſcribed, have been the principal cauſes of raiſing them, in leſs than a century, from a people of inconſiderable note, to a nation which at preſent ſtrikes terror into all the countries between Delhi and Cape Comorin. They often let out bodies of men, and ſometimes whole armies; but the hiring of them is a dangerous reſource; for the offer of better terms ſeldom fails to make them change ſides: and they ſeldom relinquiſh their practice of plundering even in the countries which they are hired to defend. But notwithſtanding

their warlike character, they are in other reſpects, the moſt ſcrupulous obſervers of the religion of Brama; never eating of any thing that has life, nor even killing the inſects which moleſt them: however, a buffalo ſacrificed, with many ſtrange ceremonies, atones for the blood of their own ſpecies which they ſhed in war. 1739.

Before the Carnatic was conquered by the Great Mogul, the Morattoes were in poſſeſſion of ſeveral fortreſſes and territories in the country: retreating from which before the arms of the Moors, they ſtipulated to receive annually a portion of the revenues, as a recompence for the poſſeſſions which they relinquiſhed, and as a tribute for refraining from their uſual predatory incurſions into the province. The Nabobs of Arcot had for many years neglected to pay this tribute, and they had deſiſted from their uſual methods of obtaining reparation, from no other motive than their great fear of Nizam-al-muluck: but this reſtraint was now removed by the encouragement which they received from him to invade the Carnatic. At the ſame time the kings of Myſore and Tanjore, in reſentment of the injuries they had ſuffered from Chunda-ſaheb in his government of Tritchanopoly, incited them, as brethren of the ſame religion, to attack the Carnatic, and to revenge the violations committed in their temples and holy places by that Mahomedan governor, and the Moors in his ſervice.

In the month of May, 1740, an army of 100000 Morattoes, under the command of Ragojee Bonſala, approached the province with their uſual rapidity, and arrived at the mountains which ſeparate it from the weſtern country, before Doaſt-ally was able to collect the whole of his forces to oppoſe them; for a large part of his army happened at that time to be employed to the ſouthward, under the command of his ſon Subder-ally. The Nabob, however, marched from Arcot with what troops he was able to aſſemble, about 4000 horſe and 6000 foot, and with theſe determined to defend the paſſes of Damal-cherri, through which the Morattoes intended to enter the province, until he could be ſuccoured by his ſon's army and the other troops of the province, which were advancing to his aſſiſtance: it is thought he would have ſucceeded in this intention if he had not been betrayed by one of his officers, an 1740.

1740. Indian, who ſuffered the Morattoes to paſs the ſtation where he commanded. The next day, being the 20th of May, the whole army appeared in the Nabob's rear, which was not defended by intrenchments, and having every advantage, attacked his troops with great fury; who, encouraged by the example of their prince, defended themſelves reſolutely for ſeveral hours, until they ſaw him, together with his ſon Haſſan-ally, fall dead from their elephants on the field of battle; the rout was then general; moſt of the principal officers of the army were ſlain, and Meer-aſſud, the Duan, was taken priſoner.

Subder-ally, with the troops under his command, was advanced as far as Arcot when he heard of his father's fate, upon which he immediately took refuge in Velore. Chunda-ſaheb likewiſe took the field with 5000 horſe and 10000 foot, giving out that he intended to march to the Nabob's aſſiſtance; but by contrived delays he kept at a diſtance from the field of battle, and as ſoon as he heard of the Nabob's defeat, hurried back to Tritchanopoly.

The Morattoes, after their victory, ſent detachments to plunder and levy contributions in every part of the province, but found that what they acquired by theſe means did not anſwer their expectations; for the wealthy inhabitants had removed all their valuable effects into the ſtrong holds with which the province abounds. Thus diſappointed, they readily liſtened to the propoſals of their priſoner Meer-aſſud, who was empowered by Subder-ally from Velore to treat with them: it was agreed that they ſhould be paid, at ſtated periods, 10,000,000 of rupees, equal to one year's revenue of the province, on condition that they quitted the Carnatic immediately; thus much was made public, but another article was kept ſecret. As ſoon as the treaty was ratified, Subdar-ally aſſumed the title and authority of Nabob; but this power was now ſo much impaired, that Chunda-ſaheb thinking he had nothing to apprehend from it, came to Arcot to do homage to him: however, the ſplendour of his retinue, and the military force which accompanied him, made him appear rather the equal than the dependant of Subder-ally.

The

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15
Gadevari R.
Yalore
Samal-diri R.
R. Goli-pale
Pedi-patnam R.
Nandpoor
SULT-PATNAM
Divi Point
Compelgur R.
Hinimcotta
Balipur
Pakhtur
Kilam Patnam
Pettah-pili
Kolabunda R.
Pundipa R.
Sipar R.
Konde-pali
Konde-hair
Perjenspul
Kulcor or Gani Diamond Mine
Mongheyr Diamond Mine discovered 1671
Sarkal
Nagheyr
Nel-konda
Indoor
Dicher-konda
Sintal-Gorhaal
Elleserum
Mafhercala
Krishna R.
Himi-konda
Poudela
Gondela-Samudram
Mari-penda
Derfi
Singheru-gudda
Paler R.
Gelikonda
Cambam
Tamukamati
Gezpur
Ghindipur
Damaserla
Mopar R.
Sirvelchui
Parchanur
Dampet
Jambula-madiga
Gandi-cotah Diamond Mine
Ananta-puram
Pamadi
Gutti
Mudimadugu
Canda-nuhi
Shandalu Cottah
Kokanol
Carol Candanoor
Sätapoor
Korna R.
Pinkel
Bukkoor
Melavaipet
Cadvar
Gadvari R.
Penna R.
Jalpali
Melivar
Manol
Gol-konda
Canapoor
Tickdoor
Skekridah
Dance
Mahomedabad
Ellore
Condapilly
Condapilly
Condapilly

Ananta-puram
Siri-daryam
Manik
Tadimeri
Maruru
Sakarla-palle
Darma-varam
Palamadala
Kriibna-buram
Marala
Palighat
Pamo-daryi
Cotta-veddi
Cotta-cheruvu
Cuta-galla
Cuda-varapalle
Cader-cattayalle
Gerrindla
Baddki
Cuma-palle
Bodda-palam
Pottipatti
Maryallavanda
Arpuvamudram
Gummi-palam
Jelari-palle
Gudikonda
Vaderavandlu
Shinna-ballaberam
Sadali
Cotta-palam
Cotta-vitlu
Colalam
Cadapa-nattam
Taikoru
Bete-mayyadaru
Cadapa-nattam Camaru
Vanadipitiri
Pedda-rajamadayam
Bengaluru
Cappiyanadi
Carjanadi
Tiru-puluru
Maruvadivalli
Tenuikonalli
Pariyur
Pinagru
Vallian-pettah
Darmapuri
Collegutaru
Congeravali
Alambari
Colla
Sampedi
Pyeru R.
Metupatu Canavru
Vellaru R.
Kandaler R.
Kandle-gheri
Tripeti
Galgoberum
Pedda-malaru R.
Pinc R.
Damalcherry
Damalcherry Canaru
Teadanur
Damalcherry-pettah
Gurram-konda
Yadi-padi
Rajuti
Cadapa
Pennar R.
Tadimetry-pettah
Kanaur
Kanigerry
Kanigerry-pettah
Kalastri
Kota-Poroyer
Kaverypauk R.
Venkatagherri
Beemanam
Ananavadi Pettah
Ashvor
Tiruttani
Pulicat
Pulicat or Geldria
Lake
Ayanavadi Pettah
Tiruvalore
Ramapoor
Cuda-palle
Cuda-palam
Cuda-pakam
Madalara-palle
Sadras-patnam
Sadras-patnam or Caliator
Cobelong
Alamparwa
Pondichery
Arian Copang
Congrimedu
Perumal
Vellanur
Villapuram
Tiruvadi
Tiruvadi Pagoda
Tiruvadi-pettah
Tiruvadi-nagam
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Cotta-veddi
Colalam
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natium
Tailuri
Beti-mangalam
Cadapa-tattam Canaveri
Bengaluru
Ani-culli
Capiyanati
Vaneadjeiri
Pedda-nyanadanpuri
Cauyeri
Parivan
Timichanalli
Vailoor
Tiru-puluru
Mamadevalli
Cauyeri
Pedda R.
Coimbetoor
Alenkeri
Pinagru
Dasanapuri
Collegutoru
Vellein-pettah
Panar R.
Sampeti
Vaniambadi
Vellore
Metupatu Canavai
Nagari
Shili
Naiken
Mavleteor
Tricdoor
Punna R.
Villapa-tum
Colon Chavadi
Sluys-gravesen
Pondicherri
Asian Copang
Congimedu
Alamparwa
Sadras-patnam
Cobelon
Chingleput
Perumal
Kaveri R.
Coleroon R.
Caveri-patnam
Tranquebar
Negapatan
Tirumale-mud
Pettah
Pagoda of Callamedu
Cap Calimere or Callamedu
Ponta das Pedras
Jafnapatnam
Tondemanar
Amsterdam
Manaar
Manaar
Ramanad-coil
Arumuga-coil
Shamberi
Cattanavari
Mine Stones
Madera-patnam
Nenoor
Pattu-cottah
Derbergam
Anur
Vatelle
Vanadi
Vellaver
Colgudy
Tirumangalam
Dindigul
Vasicuta-pedcam
Portanovo
Chilambrum
Porto Novo or Mahmud Bundar Ind. Parangi-pettah
Tranquebar
Tranquebar
Tranquebar

A MAP of the COAST of COROMANDEL, from the RIVER GADEVARI, to CAPE COMORIN.

The greatest part of this Map is copied from M^r. Danville; but there are some additions, the Materials of which were not known to that excellent Geographer. These additions principally consist of

The route from Tritchinapoly to Tinevelly; ascertained by a march of the English Troops in 1755.

And the route from Neloor to Vde-gheri, and from Vde-gheri to Conjeveram; being a march made by Lieutenant Col: Caillaud in 1758.

* Chowltry or Resting place for Travellers.

GULF OF MANAR

MANAR I.

CALPENTIN I.

SELENDIVE

ISLAND OF CEYLON

COROMANDEL

MALABAR

VANNIS

CANDIAN MOUNTAINS

Pearl Banks

Adams Bridge

Point Ramen

Ramanen Koil

Nine Stones

Navigators

Tree I.

Cat I.

Cony I.

Long I.

Ruins of Anarodgurro

Ruins of Cotta

Great Basses

Little Basses

Mowil-ganga

Malwatte R.

Yale River

Kolokenny

Adams Peak

Batticola

Trincomaly

Point Caimar

The fortifications of Pondicherry were at this time in ſuch reputation, amongſt a people who had never before ſeen any thing equal to them, that the late Nabob, as well as Subder-ally and Chunda-ſaheb, had ſent their wives, children, and treaſures, to remain there during the war. As ſoon as the Morattoes quitted the province, Subder-ally and Chunda-ſaheb, attended by a large retinue, went to Pondicherry, where they ſtayed ſeveral days. Subder-ally returning to Arcot, took with him his own and his father's family; but Chunda-ſaheb proceeding to Tritchanopoly, left the women of his family and one of his ſons there. 1740.

In the month of December the province was again ſtruck with conſternation by the return of the ſame army of Morattoes which had lately afflicted it with ſo many calamities. This ſecond irruption was in conſequence of the ſecret engagement which they had made with Subder-ally.

Beſides the ſum of money which he had agreed to pay them, they had farther inſiſted on receiving ſome territories in ſovereignty, and in this demand Meer-aſſud found them ſo inflexible, that, conſidering the territories of Tritchanopoly ſerved only to render the power of Chunda-ſaheb formidable to his maſter, he conſented to yield thoſe countries to the Morattoes, on condition that they ſhould attack them at their own expence: this they agreed to do, and at the ſame time engaged to diſpoſe of Chunda-ſaheb, if he fell into their hands, in ſuch a manner as ſhould be moſt conducive to the intereſts of the Nabob of Arcot.

Tritchanopoly was ſtrongly fortified in the Indian manner of defence; and Chunda-ſaheb, on the firſt news of the approach of the Morattoes againſt Doaſt-ally, ſtored it with a great quantity of grain, which is conſidered as the beſt ſecurity of a fortified place amongſt a people who are very little ſkilled in the uſe of cannon or other engines of battery. Meer-aſſud therefore foreſeeing that he would be able to protract his defence as long as his proviſions laſted, adviſed the Morattoes to quit the Carnatic, and to encamp at ſuch a diſtance as might prevent any ſuſpicion of their intentions to return. This artful conduct produced the effect intended by it; for Chunda-ſaheb imagining that the Morattoes were meditating expeditions into other provinces, ſold his ſtores of grain; of

1740 which they no ſooner received intelligence than they ſet out from their camp at Sevegunga, and by very expeditious marches appeared in ſight of Tritchanopoly before he could remedy the diſtreſs to which he had ſo unwarily reduced it.

1741. They inveſted the city cloſely, and were attentive to prevent the introduction of any ſupplies or reinforcements; notwithſtanding which the brothers of Chunda-ſaheb attempted to relieve it. Buda-ſaheb advanced from Madura with a large convoy of proviſions, eſcorted by 3000 horſe and 7000 foot: the Morattoes detached 20000 men to intercept this reinforcement, which defended itſelf with bravery until Buda-ſaheb fell, when the death of the leader was followed by a general rout, as it always happens in the battles of Indoſtan: they cut off Buda-ſaheb's head, and ſent it to Chunda-ſaheb as a confirmation of his brother's defeat. Another detachment attacked Saduck-ſaheb, approaching from Dindigul with 1500 horſe and 3000 foot, who were likewiſe defeated after a ſharp fight, which ended with the death of Saduck-ſaheb.

Chunda-ſaheb, notwithſtanding theſe misfortunes, continued to defend the city with great reſolution, and protracted the ſiege until the greateſt part of his proviſions was conſumed, and a conſiderable number of his men, with ſome of his beſt officers, killed; the dread of famine had alſo cauſed many to deſert: thoſe remaining, worn out with fatigues, called upon him with one voice to ſurrender. He delivered up the city and himſelf on the 26th of March, 1741, after having ſuſtained a ſiege of three months. The Morattoes placed him, with his ſon, and ſeveral principal officers, under the ſtricteſt confinement, intending to be well paid for the ranſom of their perſons. After ſome time ſpent in draining Tritchanopoly of all they could find valuable in it, they appointed Morari-row, one of their generals, viceroy of the kingdom, and leaving 14000 of their beſt troops under his command, returned to their own country, where they confined their priſoners in a ſtrong fort in the neighbourhood of Sattarah their metropolis.

The Morattoes, by the poſſeſſion of Tritchanopoly, were now become of enemies, allies to Subder-ally; and the impriſonment of Chunda-ſaheb at ſuch a diſtance from the Carnatic, removed the only leader

deemed capable of exciting inteſtine commotions. But the reſentment of Nizam-al-muluck ſtill remained to be appeaſed, which could only be done by remitting to him thoſe large arrears of revenues which the Nabob Doaſt-ally, availing himſelf of the convulſions of the empire, had withheld. Subder-ally therefore was convinced that a ſtorm would break upon him from this quarter as ſoon as Nizam-al-muluck himſelf ſhould have none to fear from Delhi: but as this time was not yet come, he determined not to exhauſt his treaſures from the apprehenſion of dangers, which, although probable, were ſtill uncertain; he amuſed Nizam-al-muluck with humble excuſes, founded on the poverty to which he pretended to be reduced by the incurſion of the Morattoes; and even demeaned himſelf ſo far as to give out he intended to go to Arabia, and there ſpend the remainder of his days in acts of devotion at the tomb of his prophet. 1741.

The poverty to which he pretended to be reduced was as little real as the ſpirit of devotion which he affected, for the greateſt part of his father's treaſures had been preſerved under the care of his mother, when ſhe took refuge in Pondicherry. However, the late calamities left ſuch an impreſſion of terror upon his mind, that he did not venture to keep his court in the open and defenceleſs city of Arcot, but took up his reſidence in Velore, which was well fortified, and its citadel built two hundred years ago by the Morattoes, the ſtrongeſt in the Carnatic; with the ſame ſpirit of precaution he ſent the women and children of his family, together with his treaſures, to Madraſs, giving this preference to the Engliſh nation by the advice of Meer-aſſud, who already ſuſpected the connexions which ſubſiſted between Chunda-ſaheb and Mr. Dupleix, the governor of Pondicherry. From Velore the Nabob made ſeveral viſits to his family at Madraſs, and theſe journies were reported to Nizam-al-muluck as proofs of his intention to proceed from thence by ſea to Mecca. 1742.

The commanders of all the towns and forts in the Carnatic had been aſſeſſed in ſums proportioned to their incomes, which were levied at ſtated periods, in order to diſcharge the ranſom of the province due to the Morattoes. The government of Velore was the richeſt fief ſubject

1742. ject to the Nabobſhip of Arcot, and by the treaſures which Mortiz-ally inherited from his father, as alſo by a very parſimonious management of the revenues of his government, he was become the richeſt man in the province. Having married the ſiſter of Subder-ally, and being likewiſe nearly related to him by birth, he thought that theſe titles of kindred, joined to the reception which he gave to the Nabob and his court, would excuſe him from the neceſſity of furniſhing what remained due of his proportion of the general aſſeſſment; but the Nabob, who knew the Morattoes were not to be diſappointed with impunity, and who was as unwilling as Mortiz-ally to diſburſe his private treaſures until the laſt extremity, determined to oblige him to furniſh his contingent with the ſame punctuality as the other governors of the province. Many of theſe were attentive to the conduct of the governor of Velore, and were ready to withhold their proportions of the aſſeſſment as ſoon as they ſhould find a reſpectable leader to ſet the example, and to ſupport them in the conſequences of refuſing to obey the Nabob's orders; they therefore confederated with Mortiz-ally, and repreſented to him, that Nizam-al-muluck, the Soubah of the ſouthern provinces, would behold with ſatisfaction even the moſt deſperate meaſures which might be taken by the officers of the Carnatic, againſt a prince who paid ſo little deference to the authority of his viceroyalty.

There was no quality in the compoſition of Mortiz-ally's mind capable of ſtopping his hand from the perpetration of any crime by which his avarice, ambition, or revenge could be gratified: he was indeed by many ſuſpected of being uncommonly deficient in perſonal courage, but this perſuaſion ſeems to have taken its riſe fromthe ſuſpicious habits of his domeſtic life; ſince he never moved, even in his own palace, without being ſurrounded by guards, nor ever ventured to taſte any thing that was not brought to him in a veſſel to which his wife had affixed her ſeal. The Nabob therefore held the puſillanimous character of his brother-in-law in the greateſt contempt, and apprehended no danger from a man who lived in perpetual apprehenſions of poiſon from his own family and domeſtics. Mortiz-ally ſtill continued to evade the payment of his arrears of the aſſeſſment; and the Nabob, wearied by trifling

trifling excuſes, one day in public imprudently threatened to diſpoſſeſs him of his government, if he evaded any longer to comply with his orders. This outrage immediately flung him into the cloſeſt connection with the diſſatisfied governors, who now flattered his ambition, by aſſuring him that they would acknowledge him Nabob of Arcot as ſoon as Subder-ally ſhould be removed. 1742.

Many obſtacles, to all appearance inſurmountable, ſeemed to oppoſe themſelves to the execution of any attempt againſt the Nabob's perſon. His army was encamped within the ſuburbs and under the walls of Velore: a numerous retinue and a body of guards conſtantly attended upon him within the fort: the puſillanimity of Mortiz-ally rendered him incapable of attempting any act of violence, if accompanied with danger to himſelf; and it was not probable that an opportunity of ſtriking at the Nabob's life, without the riſque of ſuch danger, ſhould preſent itſelf. But at the ſame time nothing of the conſpiracy tranſpired; and Subder-ally was unfortunately confirmed in his ſecurity by the extreme humility with which Mortiz-ally carried himſelf after the outrage he had received.

At the time of that feſtival to which the Mahomedans of Indoſtan have the greateſt devotion, all the Nabob's ſervants aſked permiſſion to be abſent for two or three days to celebrate it in their own familes. Contrary to the uſual cuſtom of the courts of Indoſtan, the Nabob ſuffered all his retinue and guards, excepting four perſons, to quit him; and ſo little was he ſuſpicious of the danger to which he expoſed himſelf, by this unguarded indulgence, that he even deſired ſome of the officers and menial ſervants of Mortiz-ally might attend him during the abſence of his own: by this fatal inadvertence he gave himſelf up to the power of his enemy. Mortiz-ally determined not to loſe this opportunity, which was ſuch as might never offer again, to ſtrike the blow he had meditated. On the 2d of October, the day after the Nabob's retinue had left him, the victuals prepared for his table were poiſoned. Subder-ally had ſcarcely finiſhed his meal before he began to be greatly diſordered, and although the ſtrength of his conſtitution, with timely aſſiſtance, enabled him to throw off the mortal effects of the poiſon, yet

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1742. it left him much enfeebled. Even this attack, however, did not thoroughly awaken his ſuſpicions, which thoſe of Mortiz-ally's family, who waited on him, contributed to ſtifle, by repreſenting his indiſpoſition to be the acceſs of a bilious diſorder, very common in India. Mortiz-ally knew he had no time to loſe, and propoſed to ſome of his officers, in whom he had the moſt confidence, to go and put an end to the Nabob's life. It is ſaid that all refuſed to ſerve him in this cruel commiſſion, excepting one, whoſe wife Subder-ally had formerly debauched: this man put himſelf at the head of ſome Abyſſinian ſlaves, and entered the Nabob's apartment at midnight: ſeven or eight perſons ſlept in the ſame room with him, but theſe were ſcarcely awakened before they were diſabled from making reſiſtance. The Nabob himſelf, inſtead of taking up his arms, immediately on the alarm attempted to make his eſcape through a window. The leader of the aſſaſſins ſeized him before he could paſs through it, and after upbraiding him with the injury of his adultery, and exulting in the revenge he was now taking for it, killed him with ſeveral ſtabs of a poniard.

Meer-aſſud the Duan was in the fort, and the inviolable attachment which this miniſter was known to bear to his maſter, ſuggeſted to Mortiz-ally the intention of deſtroying ſo dangerous a witneſs of the murder which he had committed. The orders were given to put him to death, when ſome officers, whom the general trepidation had brought together, repreſented to Mortiz-ally the neceſſity of preſerving the life of a man, from whom alone he could obtain that knowledge of the affairs of the Carnatic, which would be neceſſary for his own conduct in the adminiſtration of them, as ſoon as he ſhould be declared Nabob. Theſe repreſentations were dictated by reverence to the character of Meer-aſſud, whoſe virtues preſerved him in this inſtant of imminent danger from the deſtruction to which he had been doomed.

The gates of the fort of Velore were ſtrictly guarded during this night of horror, and thoſe only who produced a particular permiſſion were ſuffered to paſs out the enſuing day. So that the news of Subder-ally Khan's death was carried the next morning to the army encamped near Velore, by emiſſaries employed by Mortiz-ally himſelf, who repreſented it

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as an accident in which their maſter had no part, and aſcribed it to the ſudden reſentment of ſome of the principal officers, whom the Nabob had treated with very injurious language, and had affronted one by a blow. But ſuch was the general opinion of Mortiz-ally's character, that the ſoldiery immediately flew to their arms, and cried out in tumult, that their Nabob had been aſſaſſinated by the governor of Velore. The principal officers of the army were abſent celebrating the feaſt; and the ſoldiery left to their own conduct, in the firſt impulſe of deteſtation, threatned to ſtorm the fort immediately, and maſſacre all who were in it; but, on recollection of its ſtrength this reſolution ſubſided, and they agreed to wait the return of their officers, before they ſhould proceed to extremities. The emiſſaries of Mortiz-ally took advantage of this ſuſpenſion of their rage, and called to their recollection the great arrears of pay, which were due to them from Subder-ally, who, although well able, had conſtantly evaded to ſatisfy their demands: whereas there was great reaſon to believe, that if the army would admit Mortiz-ally's pretenſions to the Nabobſhip of Arcot, and declare in his favour, he would agree to pay the full amount of the arrears due to them. 1742.

The armies of the Mahomedan princes of Indoſtan are compoſed of a number of diſtinct bodies of troops inliſted by different leaders; who, with their bands, enter into, and quit the ſervice of different princes, according to the advantages which they expect to receive. Hence the degree of reliance which a prince can have on his army is proportioned to the treaſures of which he is poſſeſſed, joined to his inclination to diſburſe them; and it is common in the wars of Indoſtan to ſee large bodies of troops going over to the enemy on the very field of battle. The army at Velore forgot its reſentments againſt Mortiz-ally in proportion as the terms propoſed by his emiſſaries appeared to be real. The officers being arrived in the camp, were immediately brought over to his intereſt by the preſents which they received from him; accounts were adjuſted, times of payment were ſtipulated, and the whole army, officers as well as ſoldiers, agreed to acknowledge Mortiz-ally Nabob of the Carnatic within two days after the murder of Subder-ally Khan.

1742. Mortiz-ally now pitched his tents without the gates of Velore, and cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed Nabob of the Carnatic. In November he made his entry with pomp into the city of Arcot, and was again proclaimed there.

As ſoon as the firſt agitations which this ſudden and unexpected revolution had occaſioned began to ſubſide, ſeveral of the principal officers in the Carnatic communicated to one another their ſentiments on the acceſſion of Mortiz-ally, and concurred in a deteſtation of it: Theſe applied to Moorary-row, the Morratoe general of Tritchanopoly, who did not heſitate to declare openly againſt it. The Engliſh at Madraſs were requeſted to protect the ſon and family of Subder-ally, together with their wealth, notwithſtanding any menaces which they might receive from Mortiz-ally, who did not fail to demand this prey, and had the vexation to find it placed out of his reach. Several of the principal officers of the army were treated with by the friends of Subder-ally's family, and engaged to effect a general revolt. On a ſudden the army demanded immediate payment of the whole of their arrears, which at Velore they had agreed to receive at periods not yet arrived, they ſurrounded the palace in tumult, and accompanied their demands with threats.

Mortiz-ally no ſooner found his ill-gotten power thus aſſaulted, than he perceived how much he was deficient in all the qualities neceſſary to maintain it; and the preſervation of his perſon became the only attention of which he was capable. In Indoſtan the women of rank never appear in public; the carriages in which they travel are covered over, and are very rarely ſtopped or examined even in times of ſuſpicion. Mortiz-ally, diſguiſed in the habit of a woman, quitted Arcot in the night, in a covered Pallankin, accompanied by ſeveral female attendants, and in this equipage gained his fort of Velore without interruption.

As ſoon as the flight of Mortiz-ally was diſcovered, Seid Mahomed Khan, the ſon of Subder-ally, an infant who reſided in Madraſs with his mother, was proclaimed Nabob in the city of Arcot, by the army and principal officers of the province. The government of the province

province was given to the adminiſtration of a Duan choſen by the friends of the family, and the young Nabob and his mother were removed from Madraſs to Vandevaſh, a ſtrong fort which was under the government of Tuckia-ſaheb, who had married one of the Nabob Subder-ally Khan's ſiſters. 1742.

Nizam-al-muluck, the Soubah of the ſouthern provinces, heard of theſe revolutions in the Carnatic at a time when he had no longer any thing to apprehend from the politics of the court of Delhi, where he had obtained for his ſon Ghazi-o'din Khan the poſt of captain general of the Mogul's armies; and, in conſequence of the tranquillity which he now enjoyed, was preparing to enter the Carnatic at the head of his army. He left Gol-Kondah in the beginning of the year 1743, and arrived at Arcot in the month of March following. His army is thought to have conſiſted of 80,000 horſe and 200,000 foot. Their numbers, and the reputation of their leader, deterred all the princes of the countries through which they paſſed from making any reſiſtance: and they entered the province of Arcot with as little oppoſition. When arrived at Arcot, Nizam-al-muluck was ſtruck with amazement at the anarchy which he found reigning in every part of the government of the Carnatic. Every governor of a fort, and every commander of a diſtrict, had aſſumed the title of Nabob, and had given to the officers of his retinue the ſame names as diſtinguiſhed the perſons who held the moſt conſiderable employments in Nizam-al-muluck's ſervice. One day, after having received the homage of ſeveral of theſe little lords, Nizam-al-muluck ſaid, that he had that day ſeen no leſs than eighteen Nabobs in the Carnatic; whereas he had always imagined that there was but one in all the ſouthern provinces. He afterwards turned to his guards, and ordered them to ſcourge the firſt perſon who, for the future, ſhould in his preſence aſſume the title of Nabob. 1743.

The young ſon of Subder-ally, accompanied by ſeveral of his principal officers, paid his viſit of homage to the Soubah, who refuſed him the permiſſion of returning to Vandevaſh, and ordered ſome of his own officers to take charge of his perſon, directing them to treat him with lenity and reſpect. Nizam-al-muluck then appointed Coja Abdulla

1743. Khan, the general of his army, Nabob of Arcot, and of all its dependencies, and ſent a ſummons to Moorary-row, the governor of Tritchanopoly, to ſurrender the city. Finding that the Morratoe perſiſted in refuſing to obey his orders, he marched with his whole army, and ſat down before it: preſents and promiſes ſupplied the place of hoſtilities in reducing it. In the month of Auguſt Moorary-row evacuated Tritchanopoly, and ſoon after quitted the Carnatic with all his Morratoes.

Nizam-al-muluck having thus ſettled the affairs of the Carnatic without unſheathing the ſword, returned to Gol-Kondah. The new Nabob of Arcot, Coja Abdulla Khan, continued to command the army until it arrived at Gol-Kondah, and appointed one of his dependents
1744. to adminiſter the government during his abſence. It was not till the month of March 1744, that Coja Abdulla Khan was to ſet out again for Arcot. Nizam-al-muluck diſtinguiſhed this favourite with particular honors on the day of his taking leave, and the next morning Coja Abdulla was found dead in his bed. His death was ſuſpected to be the effect of poiſon; the hand from which it came could never be diſcovered, for which reaſon it was imputed to the perſon who received the moſt advantage from it, by ſucceeding to him in the government of the Carnatic.

A very ſhort ſpace of time intervened between the death of Coja Abdulla Khan, and the nomination of his ſucceſſor An'war-adean Khan who arrived at Arcot in the month of April.

The introduction of this ſtranger into the Carnatic was the ſource of many of the events which it is the intention of this narrative to commemorate. There are ſo many and ſuch injurious miſrepreſentations of the origin of this lord, and of that part of his life which preceded his acceſſion to the Nabobſhip, that it is neceſſary to invalidate them by an impartial deſcription of his hiſtory.

Anawar, the father of An'war-adean Khan, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his great erudition, and by the application of it to explanations of the original text of the Khoran: he made the pilgrimage of Mecca, without which proof of piety it is difficult, among Mahomedans, to acquire the reputation of a truly devout man. At his return from this

voyage

voyage he was nominated by the Great Mogul Aurengzebe, one of those religious officers who are appointed to offer up daily prayers for the health and prosperity of the sovereign. He now received a pension from the crown, and was ennobled by being ranked as a commander of 250 horse, a title which would appear incompatible with the character of a religious man, if every title of nobility in Indostan did not consist in a military commission; by which it is supposed, although rarely insisted on, that the person who receives the commission shall maintain a certain number of horse for the Emperor's service. With these honours and advantages Anawar retired to Gopee-mahoo, and there finished his days. 1744.

His son An'war-adean Khan went to court with recommendations from his father; these procured him the quality of a commander of 250 horse, which ennobled him, and gave him a right to add the title of Khan, (i. e. Lord) to his name: he was afterwards raised to a higher degree of nobility, by being ranked a commander of 500 horse, and was appointed governor of a district, not far distant from Delhi, called Coora-Gehanabad. Ill success, or perhaps ill conduct, prevented him from being able to pay the usual revenues of his government to the throne. He therefore thought it necessary to withdraw himself, and went to Amedabad. Here Gazi-o'din Khan, the Soubah of the southern provinces, gave him a post of considerable trust and profit in the city of Surat, whilst his friends at Delhi took care to prevent further enquiries concerning him. After the death of Gazi-o'din Khan, father of Nizam-al-muluck, An'war-adean Khan went to pay his court to Nizam-al-muluck, who had succeeded to the Soubahship of the southern provinces, and by whom he was appointed Nabob of the Yalore and Raja-mundrum countries, which he governed for several years. When Nizam-al-muluck was preparing to visit the Carnatic, An'war-adean Khan attended his court, and was left by him in one of the principal stations in the city and territory of Gol-Kondah. A very few days after the death of Coja Abdulla Khan, Nizam-al-muluck appointed An'war-adean Khan to administer the government of the Carnatic, and seems in this choice to have been influenced by his opinion of the necessity of placing a country, in which he suspected commotions, under the direction of a brave and experienced soldier; such was An'war-adean Khan.

There

1744. There is no country in which the titles of deſcent are leſs inſtrumental to the fortunes of men than they are in Indoſtan, none but thoſe of the royal blood are conſidered as hereditary nobility; to all others, the excluſion is ſo abſolute, that a new act from the ſovereign is neceſſary to ennoble even the ſon of the Grand Vizir of the Empire. The field of fortune is open to every man who has courage enough to make uſe of his ſword, or to whom nature has given ſuperior talents of mind. Hence it happens, that half the grandees of Indoſtan have arrived to the higheſt employments in the Empire from conditions not leſs humble than that of An'war-adean Khan, againſt whoſe acceſſion to the Nabobſhip of the Carnatic, the people had taken an averſion, from cauſes independent of his perſonal character.

During the 30 years which preceded the viſitation of Nizam-al-muluck, the Carnatic had been governed by the ſame family, in a ſucceſſion of three Nabobs, who, availing themſelves of the general confuſion of the Empire, had acquired a greater ſtability in their office than is the uſual lot of governors in Indoſtan. The Nabobs of this family, conſidering the ſovereignty as a kind of inheritance, had not conducted themſelves in their adminiſtration with that ſpirit of ravage, which is the uſual conſequence of uncertain and tranſitory poſſeſſion. The revenues of the Carnatic depend upon the harveſts of grain, and theſe on the quantities of water, which are reſerved to ſupply the defect of rain during the dry ſeaſon of the year: for this purpoſe vaſt reſervoirs have been formed, of which not only the conſtruction, but even the repairs in caſes of inundation require an expence much beyond the faculties of the farmer or renter of the land. If therefore the avarice of the prince with-holds his hand from the preſervation of theſe ſources of the felicity of the people, and at the ſame time dictates to him an inflexible reſolution of receiving his uſual incomes: the farmer oppreſſed, oppreſſes the labourer, and the miſery of the people becomes complete, by the vexations of collectors exerciſed in times of ſcarcity, of which the cruel parſimony of their ruler has been the principal cauſe.

It is not therefore to be wondered that the province which had felt the good effects of a mild and generous adminiſtration, from the reigns of the

the family ofSadatulla Khan, ſhould behold with regret the introduc- 1744.
tion of any ſtranger whoſoever to govern the Carnatic. The young ſon of Subder-ally was the only perſon whom the province wiſhed to ſee their ruler.

In deference to this affection, and from apprehenſion of the conſequences of ſhocking it at once too violently, Nizam-al-muluck thought it neceſſary to give out that he intended to confer the Nabobſhip of Arcot on this youth, as ſoon as he ſhould arrive at an age capable of adminiſtring it. At the ſame time he gave to An'war-adean Khan all the powers neceſſary for governing the Carnatic during this interval, and committed the young prince to his care, with the authority of a guardian. From the palpable impropriety of repoſing ſo delicate a truſt in the very perſon to whom the greateſt advantages would accrue from an unfaithful diſcharge of it, Nizam-al-muluck may be ſuſpected of having diſſembled throughout this tranſaction. The general joy with which the youth was received, on his arrival in the province, eclipſed all the homage that was paid to the ſovereign power of his guardian; and it is ſuppoſed that the proviſional Nabob did not behold without jealouſy theſe demonſtrations of the public attachment to the ſon of Subder-ally Khan.

An'war-adean Khan however did not diſcover any ſymptoms of diſcontent in his treatment of the young prince: on the contrary, he maintained him in a ſplendor adequate to his birth, and aſſigned the palace in the fort of Arcot for his reſidence. Here the young Seid Mahomed paſſed ſome time without any other inquietude, than that which he received from the importunities of a band of Pitan ſoldiers, who had been in the ſervice of his father, and who pretended that a long arrear of pay was due to them.

The Pitans, whoſe country is in the moſt northern part of the Empire, are the braveſt of the Mahomedan ſoldiery levied in Indoſtan. From a conſciouſneſs of this ſuperiority, together with a reliance on the national connection which exiſts amongſt them however diſperſed into the ſervices of different princes, they have acquired an inſolence and audacity of manners, which diſtinguiſhes them, as much as the hardneſs of their phyſiognomy, from every other race of men in the Empire:

they

1744. they treat even the lords they ſerve with very little of that reſpect which characteriſes all the other dependents of a ſovereign in Indoſtan. From the known ferocity of their temper, it is thought dangerous to inflict puniſhment on them, even when they deſerve it, as a ſtrong ſpirit of revenge has familiariſed them with aſſaſſination, which they ſeldom fail to employ whenever the ſmallneſs of their numbers diſenables them from taking vengeance by more open attacks. The Pitans, who had ſerved Subder-ally Khan, continued to preſent themſelves every day before his ſon, demanding their arrears with clamour, and inſolence.

In the month of June a wedding of one of the relations of Subder-ally Khan was celebrated in the fort of Arcot. The young prince, as being the head of the family, was invited to preſide at the ceremony. The cuſtomary invitations were likewiſe given to all the other relations, many of whom where lords of governments in the Carnatic; among theſe was Mortiz-ally. The young Seid Mahomed was taught to conceal the emotions he naturally felt at ſeeing the murderer of his father named in the liſt of his friends as a gueſt invited with his approbation. Such are the manners of a court in Indoſtan. It was thought that Mortiz-ally would not venture his perſon out of the forts of Velore, during the firſt days of a new adminiſtration; but, in contradiction to the general concluſions which were drawn from a knowledge of his puſillanimity, he came to Arcot, and preſented himſelf before the young prince, as one of the gueſts at the wedding; and was treated with diſtinction and reſpect by the regent Nabob An'war-adean Khan.

On the day appointed for the ſolemnization of the marriage, twelve Pitans, with the captain of the band, preſented themſelves before the young prince, and demanded their arrears with a more determined ſpirit of inſolence than they had hitherto ſhewn in any of their former applications. It is reckoned the higheſt indignity that can be offered to a ſoldier, to order him to retire by an expreſſion of contempt; and if any violence is employed to remove him, he generally reſents it in the inſtant with blood-ſhed. Theſe conſiderations were not ſufficient to reſtrain the zeal of Seid Mahomed's attendants from reſenting the inſult which was offered

offered to their prince; and finding that expoſtulations did not prevail, they ſeized on the Pitans, and turned them out of the palace by force. The Pitans ſuffered themſelves to be removed with much leſs reſiſtance than it was expected they would have made againſt a treatment ſo repugnant to the ideas which they entertained of their own importance. The ſame day they advanced again into the preſence of Seid Mahomed Khan, and deſired leave to make apologies for their miſbehaviour: their ſubmiſſions were accepted, and ſuppreſſed all ſuſpicions of their conduct during the remaining part of the day. 1744.

In the evening Seid Mahomed Khan, with Mortiz-ally and moſt of the other gueſts, were aſſembled, when the approach of An'war-adean Khan, the regent Nabob, who had been invited to the entertainment, was announced to them. The young prince aroſe from his ſeat, and paſſed into the veſtibule of the hall, intending to pay his guardian the compliment of receiving him at the bottom of the ſteps which led into the court of the palace. He was attended by all the other gueſts, and many of his own officers and guards. The thirteen Pitans, who had made their ſubmiſſion in the morning, appeared the foremoſt of the ſpectators in the court below, and diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the affectation of great reverence in their manner of ſaluting Seid Mahomed Khan, as ſoon as he appeared in the veſtibule. After theſe compliments, their captain, with the appearance of a man that was ſenſible he had offended his lord, and was deſirous to fling himſelf at his feet, aſcended the ſteps, and was permitted to approach within the reach of his perſon. The aſſaſſin now drew a dagger, and at the firſt blow ſtabbed the young prince to the heart.

A thouſand ſwords and poignards were drawn in an inſtant: the murderer was cut to pieces on the very ſpot on which he had perpetrated his crime; and ten of his accomplices ſuffered the ſame fate from the fury of the multitude below. Before this ſcene of terror was ended, An'war-adean Khan arrived at the palace, and endeavoured to calm the general trepidation, by giving ſuch orders as were neceſſary for the diſcovery of the conſpirators; for the multitude had already perſuaded

1744. themſelves that the Pitans had been only the executors of the intentions of ſome ſuperior power.

All who beheld the young prince deprived of life by this aſſaſſination, were inſtantly ſtruck with the remembrance of the murder of his father committed in Velore; murmurs from many had already declared the ſuſpicions that were entertained of Mortiz-ally, when it was reported, that, during the general confuſion, he had gained the gates of the fort, where a large body of cavalry and other troops, which compoſed his retinue, were waiting for him; and that, ſurrounded by theſe guards, he was already on his way to Velore. The precipitation of this flight, which appeared as much the conſequence of previous diſpoſitions as the effect of ſudden fear, left no doubt that he was the author of the aſſaſſination. Nothing was now heard but curſes and imprecations on the head of Mortiz-ally, for the murder of the innocent and much-loved Seid Mahomed Khan, and for the murder of the father of this unfortunate prince. The people ſaw themſelves obliged to confine their indignation to theſe expreſſions of it: for the ſtrength of Mortiz-ally's eſcort required a larger body of cavalry to be ſent in purſuit of it, than could be got together within the time neceſſary to overtake him, Velore being no more than twelve miles diſtant from Arcot,

The multitude now received orders from An'war-adean Khan to retire to their homes; and, as men ſtruck with diſmay at a common calamity, aſſembled in ſecret companies, to communicate their thoughts on the dreadful tragedy of which they had been ſpectators.

An'war-adean Khan, either actuated by the ſame ſpirit of indignation as the people, or affecting the appearance of it, not only removed the Pitans in his ſervice from their employments, but alſo gave orders that all of that nation ſhould inceſſantly quit the city; and, as a ſtronger proof of his reſentment, cauſed their houſes to be razed to the ground: a mark of infamy ſeldom put in uſe, excepting the perſons, whom it is intended to ſtigmatize, have deſerved capital puniſhment.

But theſe expreſſions of indignation did not exempt An'war-adean Khan from the imputation of having been acceſſory to the murder. Many perſons

perſons holding rank and power in the province aſſerted that they had diſcovered ſecrets, which convinced them that the aſſaſſination was the reſult of a confederacy between An'war-adean Khan and Mortiz-ally. 1744.

They ſaid, that the reſpect and attachment which were ſhewn by all ranks of people to Seid Mahomed, joined to the great influence which his relations bore in the Carnatic, by poſſeſſing the beſt forts and governments in the province, had filled the mind of An'war-adean Khan with viſionary apprehenſions of conſpiracies and revolts, which might at one time or other remove him from his government, in order to place Seid Mahomed in the ſovereignty: that An'war-adean Khan, actuated by theſe ſuſpicions, had determined on the deſtruction of Seid Mahomed, as a meaſure neceſſary to his own ſecurity, and was only with-held from executing it by the dread of Nizam-al-muluck's reſentment, which ſuggeſted to him the thought of practiſing on the puſillanimity and avarice of Mortiz-ally, by inſinuations and offers which might induce him to undertake the deſtruction of Seid Mahomed, but in ſuch a manner, that, if a diſcovery ſhould be made, he alone might appear the author of the murder. An'war-adean Khan found Mortiz-ally more diſpoſed than he could have expected to enter into his views. As ſoon as Mortiz-ally was perſuaded of the probability of a revolution in favour of Seid Mahomed, his natural timidity ſuggeſted to him the danger to which he ſhould be expoſed, from the reſentment of a prince, who, with the Nabobſhip of the Carnatic, would obtain the power of revenging his father's murder. Hurried on by theſe apprehenſions, and at the ſame time aſſured of protection, and even of rewards by an encreaſe of the Domain of Velore from An'war-adean Khan, Mortiz-ally hired the thirteen Pitans, who had executed his cruel purpoſe with ſuch iniquitous fidelity.

The ſecrets of the princes of Indoſtan are very difficult to be diſcovered. In affairs of conſequence nothing, except in the moſt equivocal terms, is ever given by them in writing; and whenever the matter is of great importance or iniquity, it is truſted to a meſſenger, a man of low rank and great cunning, who bears a letter of recommendation, teſtifying that he is to be truſted in all he ſays. So indefinite a commiſ-

1744. ſion reſerves to the lord who gives it, the reſource of diſavowing the tranſaction of his agent; and this he never fails to do, whenever a diſcovery to his prejudice is made. Hence the public in Indoſtan, deprived of authentic evidence, are left to judge of the actions of their rulers either from probable conjectures, or from the general idea which they entertain of the character of their lords. The conſtitution and defects of their government have rendered poiſons and aſſaſſinations, in the practice of the great, the common method of removing thoſe who ſtand in oppoſition to the ambition of others; inſomuch that a hiſtory of one century in Indoſtan would furniſh more examples of this nature than can be found in the hiſtory of one half of the kingdoms of Europe ſince the time of Charlemagne. From the frequency of theſe enormous practices, even the deaths which happen in the common courſe of nature are attributed to the iniquity of thoſe, who receive immediate advantage from them. Such were the principles on which the people of the Carnatic judged and condemned An'war-adean Khan for the murder of Seid Mahomed; notwithſtanding no poſitive proofs were brought of his having been acceſſory to it. The moſt probable of the conjectures which were urged againſt An'war-adean Khan, was founded on the early appearance of Mortiz-ally at Arcot in the days of a new adminiſtration. This was thought incompatible with the puſillanimity of his character, without ſuppoſing that, from the iniquitous connection between them, he was aſſured of protection from An'war-adean Khan.

An'war-adean Khan ſtrongly denied all connections with Mortiz-ally, and challenged any proof to be brought that either he himſelf, or any of his dependents had ever had any correſpondence with the Pitans who committed the murder, which he attributed ſolely to Mortiz-ally, alledging as a proof, that the Pitans had often been at Velore, and were known to have received many marks of favour from him. On the other hand, Mortiz-ally accuſed An'war-adean-Khan of being the author of it, but brought no teſtimonies to ſupport his aſſertion: It was ſuppoſed that the only proofs which he could have brought againſt An'war-adean Khan, would at the ſame time have condemned himſelf.

Notwith-

Notwithſtanding An'war-adean Khan was not able to exculpate himſelf in the opinion of his ſubjects, he found means to convince his ſuperior, Nizam-al-muluck, that he was intirely innocent of the blood of Seid Mahomed. Nizam-al-muluck, who never did any thing by halves, thought it neceſſary to give An'war-adean Khan ſupport, in proportion as he became odious to the Carnatic, and ſent him a full and regular commiſſion for the Nabobſhip of Arcot ſoon after the death of Seid Mahomed. The province, irritated by their averſion to a lord, whoſe ſovereignty deſtroyed their hopes of being ruled by one of the family of the race they ſo much loved, complained loudly of the avarice and parſimony of An'war-adean Khan's government, and contraſted it, much to his diſadvantage, with that of their former Nabobs. 1744.

War was now declared between Great Britain and France, in conſequence of which a ſquadron of Engliſh men of war appeared in the Indian ſeas. It conſiſted of two 60 gun ſhips, one of 50, and a frigate of 20 guns: theſe ſhips did not come immediately to the Engliſh ſettlements in Indoſtan, but paſſing beyond them, cruiſed in two diviſions in the ſtraits of Sunda and Malacca. They took in theſe ſtations three French ſhips returning from China to Europe, and one returning from Manilha to Pondicherry; the cargoes of which prizes produced the ſum of 180,000*l.* ſterling. They alſo took a French Eaſt India ſhip, which was converted into an Engliſh man of war of 40 guns. The ſquadron, after rendezvouſing at Batavia, appeared on the coaſt of Coromandel in the month of July 1745, at which time the garriſon of Pondicherry conſiſted of no more than 436 Europeans; its fortifications were not completed, and no French marine force had appeared in India ſince the declaration of war. 1745.

The appearance of the Engliſh ſquadron, and the report of the reinforcements which they expected from England, alarmed Mr. Dupleix for the ſafety of Pondicherry. He prevailed on the Nabob An'war-adean Khan to inſiſt with the Engliſh government of Madraſs, that the ſhips of war ſhould not commit any hoſtilities by land againſt the French poſſeſſions in the territories of Arcot; but at the ſame time the Nabob aſſured the Engliſh, that he would oblige the French to obſerve the ſame law of neutrality, if their force ſhould hereafter become ſuperior

to

1745. to that of the Engliſh. The government of Madraſs repreſented to the Nabob, that they were always ready to obey his commands as far as their power extended; but that Mr. Barnet, the commander of the Engliſh ſquadron, was the immediate officer of the King of Great Britain, by whoſe orders and commiſſion he acted, independent of the Eaſt India company's agents at Madraſs. The Nabob replied, that all officers of the Engliſh nation who came to the coaſt of Coromandel were equally obliged to reſpect his government in the Carnatic; and that if Mr. Barnet, with his ſquadron, ſhould venture to act contrary to the orders he had now given, the town of Madraſs ſhould atone for their diſobedience.

Theſe threats made ſo much impreſſion upon the government of Madraſs, that they requeſted and prevailed on Commodore Barnet to confine the operations of his ſquadron to the ſea. He therefore ſent one of the 50 gun ſhips to cruiſe in the road of Balaſore, at the entrance of the river Ganges, where ſhe took two or three French ſhips returning from different parts of India to the French ſettlements in Bengal. The reſt of the ſquadron left the coaſt of Coromandel to avoid the approaching ſtormy ſeaſon, and went to Mergui, a port ſituated on the coaſt which lays oppoſite to that of Coromandel in the Gulph of Bengal.

1746. In the beginning of the year 1746 the Engliſh ſquadron returned to the coaſt of Coromandel, and were reinforced by two 50 gun ſhips, and a frigate of 20 guns, which arrived from England: but at this time the 60 gun ſhip, in which Mr. Barnet hoiſted his flag, was found unfit for action, and, together with the 20 gun ſhip which came firſt into India, was ſent back to England.

There was now certain intelligence that a French ſquadron was preparing to come on the coaſt of Coromandel, when that of the Engliſh was deprived of one of its principal advantages, by loſing commodore Barnet, who died at Fort St. David's in April. His death, happening at a time when the Engliſh affairs in India were threatned with danger, was generally regretted as a public loſs.

Early in the morning of the 25th of June, the Engliſh ſquadron cruiſing to the ſouthward of Fort St. David, near Negapatnam, deſcried that

that of the French arriving on the coaſt of Coromandel. It conſiſted of nine ſhips, which were commanded by Mr. De la Bourdonnais, who had equipped them at the iſle of Mauritius, and afterwards, when ſcattered by a hurricane, had refitted them in the iſland of Madagaſcar, overcoming the greateſt difficulties with ſuch indefatigable perſeverance and activity, as intitles him to a reputation equal to that of the ableſt marine officer his country has produced. Of theſe ſhips one mounted 26 guns, two 28, one 30, three 34, one 36, and that on board of which Mr. De la Bourdonnais hoiſted his flag mounted 70 guns, of which 60 were 18 pounders. There were but 14 other guns of this ſize in all the whole ſquadron, the reſt being 12 and 8 pounders. All but the 70 gun ſhip were bored to mount more guns than the number with which Mr. De la Bourdonnais had been able to equip them; and five of them were 50 gun ſhips. On board of the ſhips were 3300 men, of which 700 were either Caffres or Laſcars: 3 or 400 of the whole number were rendered unfit for ſervice by ſickneſs. 1746.

The Engliſh ſquadron conſiſted of one 60 gun ſhip, three of 50, one of 40, and one frigate of 20 guns, which was too ſmall to be brought into the action. The number of men in theſe ſhips did not amount to one half of that in the French ſquadron; but the Engliſh had greatly the advantage in the weight of their cannon, by which the fortune of engagements at ſea is at preſent generally decided: and they likewiſe ſailed better than the French, and were worked with much greater ſkill.

Mr. De la Bourdonnais, knowing the advantages and diſadvantages of his force, had determined to decide the impending engagement by boarding the Engliſh ſhips, if it were poſſible to bring his own into the ſituations neceſſary to accompliſh this deſign. Mr. Peyton, who commanded the Engliſh ſquadron, perceiving this intention, determined to engage with his ſquadron nearer to the wind than that of the enemy, ſince in this ſituation their efforts to board would be eaſily avoided; and a great part of the day was employed to preſerve this advantage. It was not until 4 in the afternoon that the fight began: it was maintained at ſuch a diſtance that the fire of the ſmall arms from the French ſhips, notwithſtanding the great numbers and the expertneſs of their muſketeers, did very little execution; but, on the other hand, the cannon of the Engliſh, from the ſame cauſe, did much leſs than might have been expected

1746. pected from them in a cloſer engagement. The fight finiſhed with the entrance of the night; about 35 men were killed in the Engliſh ſquadron, and the greateſt part of theſe on board the 40 gun ſhip. We are not exactly informed of the loſs ſuſtained by the French; but it was believed that the killed and wounded together did not amount to leſs than 300. One of their ſhips, that which mounted 30 guns, was in leſs than half an hour diſmaſted, and ſo much ſhattered, that, immediately after the action, Mr. De la Bourdonnais ordered her to proceed to Bengal to be refitted in the Ganges.

The next morning Mr. Peyton called a council of war, when, on a review of the condition of the Engliſh ſquadron, it was not thought proper, eſpecially as the 60 gun ſhip was extreamly leaky, to venture a ſecond engagement, before the damages it had ſuſtained were repaired. In conſequence of this reſolution, the ſhips made ſail for the harbour of Trincanomaly in the iſland of Ceylon, and in the evening loſt ſight of the French ſquadron, which had lain to the whole day, as if challenging the Engliſh, who were to windward, to bear down and renew the fight. This appearance of reſolution in Mr. De la Bourdonnais was no more than a feint, practiſed to deter the Engliſh from doing what he moſt dreaded; for moſt of his ſhips had expended the greateſt part of their ammunition, and ſeveral of them had not victuals on board for twenty-four hours.

In the night of the enſuing day the French ſquadron, now conſiſting of eight ſhips, arrived in the road of Pondicherry; where Mr. Dupleix commanded, for the French Eaſt India company, all the eſtabliſhments of his nation in India, the iſlands of Mauritius and Bourbon excepted. Theſe were under the government of Mr. De la Bourdonnais, to whom all the operations of the ſquadron were intruſted, independent of the controul of Mr. Dupleix.

The reputation and riches which it was probable Mr. De la Bourdonnais would gain in the command of his armament, created jealouſy in the mind of Mr. Dupleix. Diſſenſions aroſe between the two commanders: but the activity of Mr. De la Bourdonnais did not ſuffer the intereſts of his nation to be ſacrificed to them. Knowing that the force which he commanded could not be employed by land with any probability of ſucceſs,

ceſs, until the Engliſh ſquadron ſhould be either ruined or forced to quit the coaſt of Coromandel; he determined to go in queſt of them as ſoon as his own ſhips were refitted and provided with 30 or 40 pieces more of heavy cannon than they mounted on leaving the iſland of Mauritius. 1746.

On the 24th of July the French ſquadron ſailed from Pondicherry, working to the ſouthward againſt the ſouthern monſoon, and on the 6th of Auguſt diſcovered that of the Engliſh, which had been refitted at Trincanomaly. The Engliſh perceiving the addition of cannon with which the French had been ſupplied at Pondicherry, avoided coming to an engagement. The two ſquadrons were three days in ſight of each other, after which, according to Mr. De la Bourdonnais's account, the Engliſh ſhips availing themſelves of the advantage of ſailing better than the French, diſappeared.

Mr. De la Bourdonnais returned with his ſhips to Pondicherry, imagining that the Engliſh ſquadron, although they did not think themſelves ſtrong enough to riſk a general engagement, would remain on the coaſt of Coromandel, to deter him from attempting any operations againſt the Engliſh ſettlements. But notwithſtanding this ſuſpicion, he determined to lay ſiege to Madraſs.

The Engliſh informed of the preparations which were making at Pondicherry to attack them, called on the Nabob An'war-adean Khan to fulfil his promiſe of reſtraining the French from committing hoſtilities againſt them by land. But they omitted to employ the moſt certain means, of obtaining his protection, by neglecting to accompany their application for his aſſiſtance with a preſent of money. This ill-judged parſimony left the Nabob ſo luke-warm in their intereſts, that although he did not give Mr. Dupleix a poſitive permiſſion, he refrained from making any preparations, or even from uſing menaces to prevent the French from attacking Madraſs.

Madraſs had been about 100 years the principal eſtabliſhment of the Engliſh nation on the coaſt of Coromandel. It was built in a territory granted by the Great Mogul to the Eaſt India company, which extended about five miles along the ſea-ſhore, and about one mile in land. The Town conſiſted of three diviſions; that to the ſouth extended about 400

1746. yards in length from north to ſouth, and about 100 yards in breadth: none but the Engliſh, or other Europeans under their protection, reſided in this diviſion, which contained about 50 good houſes, an Engliſh and a Roman Catholic church, together with the reſidence of the factory, and other buildings belonging to the company: it was ſurrounded with a ſlender wall, defended with four baſtions and as many batteries, but theſe were very ſlight and defective in their conſtruction, nor had they any outworks to defend them: this quarter has long been known in Europe by the name of Fort St. George, and was in India called for diſtinction the White Town. On the north of this, and contiguous, was another diviſion, much larger and worſe fortified, in which were many very good habitations belonging to the Armenian and to the richeſt of the Indian merchants, who reſided in the company's territory: this quarter was called the Black Town. Beyond this diviſion, and to the north of it, was a ſuburb, where the Indian natives of all ranks had their habitations promiſcuouſly. Beſides theſe three diviſions, which compoſed the town of Madraſs, there were two large and populous villages about a mile to the ſouthward of it, within the company's territory, and theſe were likewiſe inhabited by Indian natives.

The trade from England to the coaſt of Coromandel, together with that which is carried on by merchants of various nations from one part of India to another, had raiſed Madraſs to a degree of opulence and reputation, which rendered it inferior to none of the European eſtabliſhments in India, excepting Goa and Batavia. There were 250,000 inhabitants in the company's territory, of which the greateſt part were natives of India of various caſts and religions; amongſt theſe were three or four thouſand of thoſe Indian chriſtians who call themſelves Portugueſe, and pretend to be deſcended from that nation. The Engliſh in the colony did not exceed the number of 300 men: and 200 of theſe were ſoldiers, who compoſed the garriſon; but none of them excepting two or three of their officers, had ever ſeen any other ſervice than that of the parade: the reſt of the Engliſh inhabitants, ſolely employed in the occupations of commerce, were ſtill more unfit for military ſervices. At the ſame time the defence of the place depended on this ſmall number

ber of Engliſh ſubjects: for it was known that the reſt of the inhabitants, regarding themſelves as neutrals, would take flight on the firſt approach of danger. 1746.

On the 18th of Auguſt the French ſquadron appeared and cannonaded the town, but without doing any damage to it. They attempted to take one of the Eaſt India company's ſhips which lay in the road; but ſhe moved into ſhoal-water, ſo near the batteries of the fort, that the French did not venture to attack her with arm'd boats; and it was evident, from the unſkilfulneſs of their operations during this cruiſe, that Mr. De la Bourdonnais did not command them in perſon, he was at this time in Pondicherry, confined to his bed by ſickneſs.

The protection of the Engliſh ſettlements on the coaſt of Coromandel was the principal object of the deſtination of the Engliſh ſquadron; and their appearance before Madraſs was at this time thought ſo neceſſary to its defence, that the inhabitants were in hourly expectation of ſeeing them, although they had heard no news of them ſince they were laſt ſeen, ſix weeks before, by Mr. De la Bourdonnais. The town therefore was ſtruck with a conſternation little leſs than deſpair, when news was received that the Engliſh ſquadron had on the 23d of Auguſt appeared 30 miles to the northward of Madraſs, before the Dutch ſettlement of Palliacatte, from whence they had again put off to ſea, and diſappeared. They proceeded to Bengal; for the 60 gun ſhip was now ſo leaky, that it was feared the ſhock of firing her own cannon would ſink her, if ſhe ſhould be bought into an engagement.

On the 3d of September the French ſquadron anchored four leagues to the ſouth of Madraſs, having on board the troops, artillery and ſtores intended for the ſiege. Here a part of the troops was landed, and marching along the coaſt advanced the next day within cannon ſhot of the town, where the reſt of the ſoldiers were landed. The whole conſiſted of 1100 Europeans, 400 Caffres, and 400 Indian natives, diſciplined in the European manner. There remained on board of the ſquadron 1800 European mariners.

1746. Mr. De la Bourdonnais directed his attack againſt the White Town, in which the Engliſh reſided: the northern ſide of this diviſion could not be attacked by cannon, as the houſes of the next diviſion almoſt touched the wall, which ſeparated them from each other: the eaſtern ſide could only be battered from the ſea; but the ſouth and weſt lay open to the plain. On the 7th of September the French began to bombard the town, from a battery of nine mortars, which they erected to the weſtward, under the ſhelter of a large houſe within 500 yards of the walls. In the evening three of their largeſt ſhips drew as near as the depth of water would permit, and cannonaded the town. In the night Mr. De la Bourdonnais was flung into great perplexity by receiving a letter from Mr. Dupleix, which informed him that ſome large ſhips were ſeen to the ſouthward of Pondicherry; which news was contradicted in the morning by a ſecond letter: but it is ſaid that the firſt cauſed ſo much alarm in the French camp, that they were preparing to reſhip the heavy cannon which they had landed.

On the 8th of September the French had finiſhed a battery of five mortars to the ſouth, and bombarded the town without intermiſſion until the next morning, when two Engliſh deputies went to their camp, to treat with Mr. De la Bourdonnais, whom they found inflexible in his reſolution to have the town delivered up to him on his own terms; for he was determined, from the apprehenſion of the return of the Engliſh ſquadron, to give a general aſſault with his troops augmented by a large reinforcement of ſailors from his ſhips. As ſoon as the deputies returned, the bombardment recommenced, and continued until the evening, when it was ſuſpended for two hours, during the conference of another deputy ſent from the town; after which it continued during the reſt of the night.

The next morning, the 10th of September, the deputies returned to the French camp, and, after ſome altercations, conſented to the articles of capitulation, which had been dictated to them in the firſt conference. It was agreed that the Engliſh ſhould ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war: that the town ſhould be immediately delivered up; but that it

ſhould

ſhould be afterwards ranſomed. Mr. De la Bourdonnais gave his promiſe that he would ſettle the ranſom on eaſy and moderate terms. 1746.

The capitulation was ſigned in the afternoon, when Mr. De la Bourdonnais put himſelf at the head of a large body of troops, and marched to the gates, where he received the keys from the governor. The French colours were immediately diſplayed; and, at the ſame time, the Engliſh ſhip belonging to the Eaſt India company, which lay in the road, was taken poſſeſſion of without reſiſtance by the boats of the French ſquadron. There was not a man killed in the French camp during the ſiege: four or five Engliſhmen were killed in the town by the exploſion of the bombs, which likewiſe deſtroyed two or three houſes.

The Engliſh inhabitants were permitted to reſide without moleſtation in their houſes; but the magazines and ware-houſes belonging to the Eaſt India company were taken poſſeſſion of by the French commiſſaries.

On the day in which Madraſs was ſurrendered, a meſſenger from the Nabob An'war-adean Khan, diſpatched for more expedition on a camel, arrived at Pondicherry, and delivered to Mr. Dupleix a letter, in which the Nabob expreſſed great ſurprize at the preſumption of the French in attacking Madraſs without his permiſſion, and threatned to ſend his army there, if the ſiege was not immediately raiſed. Mr. Dupleix ſent directions to his agent at Arcot to pacify the Nabob, by promiſing that the town, if taken, ſhould be given up to him; and by repreſenting, that the Engliſh would certainly be willing to pay him a large ſum of money for the reſtitution of ſo valuable a poſſeſſion. It was by this tranſaction that Mr. Dupleix firſt diſcovered his pretenſions to the right of diſpoſing of Madraſs, which he thought was inveſted in himſelf as governor general of the French eſtabliſhments in Indoſtan.

But Mr. De la Bourdonnais, relying on his own commiſſion, did not admit of this authority in the governor of Pondicherry, and, conformable to his promiſe, proceeded to treat with the Engliſh for the ranſom of the town. Mr. Dupleix and the council of Pondicherry proteſted againſt the treaty, as a meaſure highly detrimental to the intereſts of

their

1746. their nation, which, they ſaid, would be ſacrificed to private advantages, if Madraſs was not razed to the ground.

On the 27th of September three ſhips of war, diſpatched from France arrived at Pondicherry. One of theſe mounted 72 guns, and each of the other two 40: they had on board 1360 men. With this addition, the French force ſeemed ſufficient to aſſure Mr. De la Bourdonnais of ſucceſs in the enterprizes which he was meditating againſt the reſt of the Engliſh eſtabliſhments. His vexation was therefore extreme, at the delays which all his operations ſuffered from the proteſts and contradictions of Mr. Dupleix and the council of Pondicherry.

However the effects of Madraſs, which Mr. De la Bourdonnais intended to carry away in his ſhips, were put on board by the 1ſt of October, and two of them had ſailed to Pondicherry. Mr. Dupleix was not as yet reconciled to the treaty of ranſom, and Mr. De la Bourdonnais was determined not to leave Madraſs before the governor and council of Pondicherry had given their approbation: at the ſame time his experience in the navigation of India fully apprized him of the danger to which his ſhips were expoſed, by remaining on the coaſt of Coromandel at this critical ſeaſon of the year.

In India the year is divided into two ſeaſons. From the month of October to March the winds blow from the north, and during the reſt of the year from the ſouthern points of the compaſs: theſe ſeaſons are by mariners called monſoons: the change from one to the other is generally preceded by an interval of about twenty days, in which calms, or light and uncertain winds prevail: the ſetting in of the northern monſoon generally falls out ſome time in the month of October, as that of the ſouthern in the month of April. On the coaſt of Coromandel the northern monſoon ſometimes begins with a violent tempeſt or hurricane; and if the monſoon ſets in with moderation, it is often productive of tempeſtuous weather at different intervals, until the middle of December; ſo that it is held dangerous for any veſſels to remain on the coaſt after the 15th of October, or to return to it before the 20th of December.

On

On the 2d of October the weather was remarkably fine and moderate all day. About midnight a furious ſtorm aroſe, and continued with the greateſt violence until the noon of the next day. Six of the French ſhips were in the road when the ſtorm began, and not one of them was to be ſeen at day break. One put before the wind, and was driven ſo much to the ſouthward, that ſhe was not able to gain the coaſt again: the 70 gun ſhip loſt all her maſts: three others of the ſquadron were likewiſe diſmaſted, and had ſo much water in the hold, that the people on board expected every minute to periſh, notwithſtanding they had thrown over board all the cannon of the lower tier: the other ſhip during the few moments of a whirlwind which happened in the moſt furious part of the ſtorm, was covered by the waves, and foundered in an inſtant, and only ſix of the crew eſcaped alive. Twenty other veſſels belonging to different nations, were either drove on ſhore, or periſhed at ſea. 1746.

The other two ſhips of Mr. De la Bourdonnais's ſquadron, laden with part of the effects taken out of Madraſs, together with the three ſhips lately arrived from Europe, were at anchor in the road of Pondicherry, where they felt no effect of the ſtorm which was raging at Madraſs: It is obſerved, that the violence of theſe hurricanes is generally confined to 60 or 80 miles in breadth, although in their progreſs they generally blow quite acroſs the Bay of Bengal.

The articles of the treaty of ranſom had been adjuſted the day before the ſtorm happened. It was agreed that the French ſhould evacuate the town by the 4th of October; and by one of the articles, the artillery and warlike ſtores remaining in the town, were to be equally divided between the French and Engliſh.

Mr. Dupleix had repreſented to Mr. De la Bourdonnais, that he would not interfere in any tranſactions with the Engliſh after his departure, unleſs the French remained in poſſeſſion of Madraſs for ſo much time as might be neceſſary to adjuſt all diſcuſſions ariſing from the treaty. Mr. De la Bourdonnais therefore repreſented to the Engliſh, the neceſſity to which he was reduced by the obſtinacy of Mr. Dupleix, of extending for three months, the term in which he had agreed to put them in

poſſeſſion

1746. poſſeſſion of the town: the Engliſh, apprehenſive that if they refuſed to admit of this alteration, they ſhould be left to the mercy of Mr. Dupleix without a treaty, acquieſced in this propoſal; and the treaty was ſigned on the 10th of October.

All the merchandizes, and a part of the military ſtores, belonging to the Eaſt India company, together with naval ſtores belonging to the company, to the Engliſh ſquadron, and to the inhabitants of Madraſs, had been laden on board of the French ſhips: theſe articles, according to the computation made by the French, amounted to 130,000 pounds ſterling; and the gold and ſilver of which they took poſſeſſion to the value of 31,000 pounds ſterling; and that half of the artillery and military ſtores, which they were to carry away after Mr. De la Bourdonnais's departure, was eſtimated at 24,000 pounds ſterling. After theſe effects had been made the property of the French Eaſt India company, Mr. De la Bourdonnais gave up to the Engliſh, and the other inhabitants, all the effects and merchandizes belonging to them, except naval ſtores. It was agreed that the French ſhould evacuate the town before the end of the enſuing January, after which the Engliſh were to remain in poſſeſſion of it, without being attacked by them again during the war. Upon theſe conditions the governor and council of Madraſs agreed to pay the ſum of 1,100,000 pagodas, or 440,000 pounds ſterling. Of this ſum 240,000 pounds were to be paid at Pondicherry, by ſix equal payments, before the month of October in the year 1749: and for the remaining 200,000 pounds, bills were drawn on the Eaſt India company in London, payable a few months after they ſhould be preſented. The Engliſh gave hoſtages for the performance of this treaty.

On the 12th of October, Mr. De la Bourdonnais inveſted one of the council of Pondicherry, appointed by Mr. Dupleix, with the government of Madraſs and went on board of his own ſhip, which had been refitted with jury maſts. He anchored in the road of Pondicherry on the 15th, and ſailed from thence the 20th with ſeven ſhips, intending to proceed to Achin: but foreſeeing that a part of them would probably be

be unable to reach that port, he formed the ſquadron into two diviſions, one conſiſted of the three ſhips which arrived laſt from Europe, together with another that had eſcaped the ſtorm: theſe were all in good condition; and were therefore ordered to make their way to Achin, without waiting for the other diviſion, which conſiſted of Mr. De la Bourdonnais's 70 gun ſhip, one that had been diſmaſted, and a merchant ſhip which had likewiſe ſuffered in the ſtorm. The four ſound ſhips very ſoon failed out of ſight of their comrades; and Mr. De la Bourdonnais, finding that the ſhattered condition of the other three rendered them incapable of gaining their deſtined port againſt the violence of a contrary wind, made ſail for the iſland of Mauritius, where they arrived in the beginning of December without any accident. He ſoon after left Mauritius, which, from a foreſt, he had rendered a flouriſhing colony, and the arſenal of all the French military expeditions in India. Every body knows the treatment he received on his arrival in France. The friends of Mr. Dupleix had influence enough at the court to get him confined to the baſtile, where he remained a priſoner almoſt three years: upon an examination of his conduct, his juſtification, proved by original papers which have been made public, procured him his liberty. Had he ſurvived the ſubſequent ill ſucceſſes of his nation at ſea, his abilities would probably have raiſed him to the higheſt commands in the navy of France. His knowledge in mechanics rendered him capable of building a ſhip from the keel: his ſkill in navigation, of conducting her to any part of the globe: and his courage, of defending her againſt any equal force. In the conduct of an expedition, he ſuperintended all the details of the ſervice, without being perplexed either with the variety or number of them. His plans were ſimple, his orders preciſe, and both the beſt adapted to the ſervice in which he was engaged. His application was inceſſant; and difficulties ſerved only to heighten his activity, which always gave the example of zeal to thoſe he commanded. 1746.

The ſtorm to which the French ſquadron had been expoſed, ruined the marine force of that nation in India, and preſerved the Engliſh eſtabliſhments from imminent danger: but, at the ſame

1746. time, this diſaſter gave ſuch an addition of ſtrength to the French eſtabliſhments in the Carnatic, that the events which have ſince happened on the coaſt of Coromandel, ſeem to have been the conſequence of that augmentation of troops, which Pondicherry acquired after the French ſquadron was reduced to the incapacity of attempting any farther expeditions. Mr. De la Bourdonnais left behind him 1200 diſciplined men; 450 more were landed out of the three ſhips which came laſt into India, and 8 or 900 ſailors taken out of the ſhips that remained on the coaſt were diſciplined as ſoldiers. By this addition, the whole of the French troops on the coaſt of Coromandel amounted to a body of 3000 men.

The Nabob An'war-adean Khan, very ſoon after the French had taken Madraſs, began to ſuſpect, or had diſcovered that the promiſe which Mr. Dupleix had made to put him in poſſeſſion of the town, was a fraud employed to divert him from giving the Engliſh any aſſiſtance during the ſiege. He determined to revenge this affront by laying ſiege to Madraſs; which he made no doubt of taking from the French, with as much eaſe as they had taken it from the Engliſh: for meaſuring the military abilities of the Europeans, by the great reſpect and humility with which they had hitherto carried themſelves in all their tranſactions with the Mogul government; he imagined that this ſubmiſſion in their behaviour proceeded from a conſciouſneſs of the ſuperior military proweſs of the Moors.

Some troops from Arcot were arrived in the neighbourhood of Madraſs before Mr. De la Bourdonnais's departure, and ſoon after the Moors formed a camp of 10,000 men, under the command of Maphuze Khan the Nabob's eldeſt ſon, who cauſed the town to be inveſted on all ſides: two deputies were immediately ſent to treat with him, and theſe he kept priſoners. The French in Madraſs had received orders from Mr. Dupleix, not to commit any hoſtilities againſt the Moors, until the laſt extremity; and this inaction was interpreted by them as the effect of fear. Having received information of the diſpoſitions which Mr. De la Bourdonnais had made for the attack of the place, they endeavoured to copy them; and brought great heaps of faggots and earth to the ſpot where he had erected one of the batteries of mortars: here they intended to form a battery of their cannon, which were ſo old, as not to be fired without riſk to thoſe who managed them.

A ſhallow river ran along the weſtern-ſide of Madraſs: its outlet to the ſea was about 700 yards to the ſouth of the White Town; but this was generally ſtopped by a mound, formed of the ſands, which were continually thrown up by the ſurf. This obſtruction confining the waters of the river, rendered it of as much defence as a wet ditch to that part of the town by which it paſſed. The Nabob's army intended to eſcalade the Black Town, of which the walls were low, and the baſtions of very little ſtrength; this had been the project of Mr. De la Bourdonnais. To facilitate their approach to the walls in a general aſſault, they employed a great number of men to cut through the mound of ſand, a practice which they were informed the Engliſh always made uſe of, whenever they thought it neceſſary to drain the river. At the ſame time a large body of troops took poſſeſſion of a ſpring laying about three miles to the north of the town, which was the only ſource from which the inhabitants were ſupplied with good water. Theſe meaſures ſhewed a degree of intelligence very uncommon in the military operations of the Moors. The French finding the waters of the river decreaſe, and their communication with the ſpring interrupted, determined to commence hoſtilities, and fired from the baſtions of the Black and White Town, upon the Moors, wherever they appeared, who immediately retreated from the mound, and the reſt of their ſtations, which were expoſed to this fire; but ſtill kept poſſeſſion of the ground near the ſpring, which was out of the reach of cannon-ſhot from the town. 1746.

The next day, being the 22d of October, a body of 400 men, with two field pieces, marched out of the town, and attacked that quarter of the Nabob's army, which w asencamped to the north-weſt, between the Town and the ſpring. Their cavalry mounted on the firſt alarm, and uniting their ſquadrons, advanced with the appearance of reſolution to the attack of the French detachment. None of the Moors had ever ſeen field pieces employed againſt them; and had no conception, that it was poſſible to fire, with execution, the ſame piece of cannon five or ſix times in a minute; for in the aukward management of their own clumſey artillery, they think they do well if they fire once in a quarter of an hour. The French detachment concealed their two field pieces behind their line,

1746. until the enemy's cavalry approached near enough to feel the full effect of them. The line now opened to the right and left, and the field pieces immediately began to play with great vivacity through the interval: their fire was well directed; two or three of the enemy's horſes were ſtruck down by the firſt diſcharge, which put their whole body into confuſion: however they kept their ground for ſome time, as if waiting for an intermiſſion of this new and unexpected fire; but, finding that it continued with the ſame vivacity, they were ſtruck with a panic, and took to flight with great precipitation, leaving the French to plunder their tents and baggage, without daring to interrupt them by a ſecond onſet. Several parties were detached to diſlodge the Moors from the different incloſures of which they had taken poſſeſſion; and theſe troops were no ſooner fired upon than diſperſed. The French took two pieces of cannon, which they found ſo little fit for ſervice, that they flung them into a well: they killed about 70 Moors in the attack, and returned into the town without the loſs of a man.

Maphuze Khan, after this defeat, immediately collected all his troops, from the different quarters which they occupied round Madraſs, into one camp, about two miles to the weſtward of the town; but upon hearing that the French expected a reinforcement from Pondicherry, he quitted this camp the next day, and took poſſeſſion of St. Thomé, a town ſituated about four miles to the ſouth of Madraſs.

This place, once in the poſſeſſion of the Portugueſe, and during the time of their proſperity in India famous for the ſplendor and riches of its inhabitants, has long ſince been reduced to a town of little note or reſort, although it ſtill gives title to a Portugueſe biſhop. The town had no defence, excepting here and there the remains of a ruined wall: a river ran into the ſea from the weſt, about a quarter of a mile to the ſouth of the town. Maphuze Khan took poſſeſſion of the ſtrand between the river and the town with his whole army, and planted his artillery along the bank of the river.

On the 24th of October the French detachment arrived, by break of day, at the bank of the river oppoſite to St. Thomé, and found the Nabob's troops, horſe as well as foot, drawn up on the other ſide, to oppoſe

oppoſe their paſſage. It had been concerted, that a party of 400 men ſhould march from Madraſs, and attack the Moors on the northern ſide of the town, at the ſame time that the detachment from Pondicherry attacked them on the ſouth. The troops from Madraſs failed to arrive in time; but the other detachment, notwithſtanding this diſappointment, advanced without heſitation to the attack. The river was fordable, and they paſſed it without loſs, notwithſtanding they were expoſed to the fire of the enemy's artillery, which, as uſual, was very ill ſerved. As ſoon as they had gained the oppoſite bank, they gave a general fire of their ſmall arms, and then preſſed on to attack the enemy with their bayonets. The Moors, unaccuſtomed to ſuch hardy and precipitate onſets, gave way, and retreated into the town, where they again made a ſhew of reſiſtance from behind ſome palliſadoes which they had planted in different parts of the ſouth ſide of the town. The French continued to advance againſt them in good order, and no ſooner fired from three or four platoons than the Moors gave way again; and the horſe and foot falling back promiſcuouſly on each other in the narrow ſtreets of the town, the confuſion of the throng was ſo great, that they remained for ſome time expoſed to the fire of the French, without making any reſiſtance, or without being able to retreat. Many were killed before the whole army could get out of the town, and gain the plain to the weſtward. Their general, Maphuze Khan, mounted on an elephant, on which the great ſtandard of the Carnatic was diſplayed, was one of the firſt who made his eſcape. The Moors were ſcarcely fled out of the town before the detachment from Madraſs arrived, and aſſiſted in the pillage of the enemy's baggage, among which were ſome valuable effects. The French took many horſes and oxen, and ſome camels. It is ſaid, that after the battle they murdered ſeveral of the Moors whom they found concealed in the houſes they were plundering. This defeat ſtruck ſuch a terror into Maphuze Khan, and the Nabob's army, that they retreated out of the country about Madraſs, and ſoon after returned to Arcot. 1746.

It was now more than a century ſince any of the European nations had gained a deciſive advantage in war againſt the officers of the Great Mogul. The experience of former unſucceſsful enterprizes, and the ſcantineſs

1746. ſcantineſs of military abilities which prevailed in all the colonies, from a long diſuſe of arms, had perſuaded the Europeans eſtabliſhed in Indoſtan, that the Moors were a brave and formidable enemy; when the French at once broke through the charm of this timorous opinion, by defeating a whole army with a ſingle battalion.

The officer who commanded the detachment, which routed the Moors at St. Thomé, was a Swiſs, named Paradis. He had gained the favour of Mr. Dupleix, by manifeſting a violent enmity againſt Mr. De la Bourdonnais: and Mr. Dupleix regarding him as the moſt proper perſon to carry into execution any oppoſition to Mr. De la Bourdonnais's meaſures, appointed Paradis governor of Madraſs. At the ſame time, the French inhabitants of Pondicherry, inſtructed by Mr. Dupleix's emiſſaries, aſſembled and drew up a repreſentation, addreſſed to Mr. Dupleix and the council, in which they ſet forth the neceſſity, as they pretended, of annulling the treaty of ranſom. Mr. Dupleix and the council of Pondicherry, affecting to reſpect the general voice of the inhabitants, which they had ſuborned, inſtructed Paradis to execute this reſolution. On the 30th of October, the inhabitants of Madraſs were called together; the French garriſon was drawn up under arms, and a manifeſto, addreſſed to the Engliſh, was publicly read. This paper contained the following declaration and injunctions:

The treaty of ranſom made with Mr. De la Bourdonnais was declared null. The Engliſh were enjoined to deliver up the keys of all magazines without exception: all merchandizes, plate, proviſions, warlike ſtores, and horſes, were declared the property of the French company; but the Engliſh were permitted to diſpoſe of their moveables, cloaths, and the jewels of the women: they were required to give their parole not to ſerve againſt the French nation until they ſhould be exchanged; and it was declared, that thoſe who refuſed to obey this injunction, would be arreſted and ſent to Pondicherry. All, excepting ſuch as were willing to take the oath of allegiance to the French King, were ordered to quit the town in four days, and were prohibited from taking up their reſidence within the bounds of Madraſs, or in any of the country houſes belonging to the Engliſh without thoſe bounds.

Such

Such injurious and diſtreſsful terms aggravated the iniquity of that breach of public faith which produced them. 1746.

The French put their manifeſto into execution with the utmoſt rigour, and took poſſeſſion of the effects of the Engliſh with an avaritious exactitude rarely practiſed by thoſe who ſuddenly acquire valuable booties: the fortunes of moſt of the Engliſh inhabitants were ruined. The governor and ſeveral of the principal inhabitants were conducted, by an eſcort of 400 men, to Pondicherry: here Mr. Dupleix, under pretence of doing them honour, cauſed them to enter the town in an oſtentatious proceſſion, which expoſed them to the view of 50,000 ſpectators, like priſoners led in triumph. Others of the inhabitants, with ſeveral of the military officers, determined not to give the parole which was required of them; and alledged, very juſtly, that the breach of the treaty of ranſom releaſed them from that which they had given to Mr. De la Bourdonnais: theſe made their eſcape out of the town by night, and, travelling by various routs through the country, went to the Engliſh ſettlement of Fort St. David.

The Eaſt India company was here in poſſeſſion of a territory larger than that of Madraſs: it had been purchaſed, about a hundred years before, from the Indian prince of the country; and their title to it was confirmed by the Mogul's viceroy, when the Moors conquered the Carnatic. The fort was ſituated near the ſea 1 2 miles to the ſouth of Pondicherry. It was ſmall, but better fortified than any of its ſize in India, and ſerved as a citadel to the company's territory. About a mile to the ſouth of it was ſituated the town of Cuddalore, in which the principal Indian merchants, and many of the natives dependent on the company reſided. Its form was an oblong ſquare, extending 1200 yards from north to ſouth, and 900 from eaſt to weſt: Three of its ſides were defended by walls flanked with baſtions: that to the ſea was for the greateſt part open; but a river paſſing from the weſtward between Fort St. David and the town of Cuddalore, directed its courſe parallel to the eaſtern ſide of the town, of which it waſhed the ſkirts; and was ſeparated from the ſea by a mound of ſand, which the ſurf throws upon the ſhore in moſt parts of the coaſt. To the weſtward of the fort, and within the company's territory, were two or three populous villages, inhabited

1746. bited by the natives. The government of Fort St. David depended on that of Madraſs, to which it was immediately the next in rank: but on the breach of the treaty of ranſom, the company's agents at Fort St. David, regarding thoſe of Madraſs as priſoners to the French, took upon themſelves the general adminiſtration of the Eaſt India company's affairs on the coaſt of Coromandel.

They began their adminiſtration by applying to the Nabob of Arcot for his aſſiſtance againſt the French, by whom they expected every day to be attacked. The defeat of Maphuze Khan had irritated the Moors ſo much againſt that nation, that the Nabob readily engaged to ſend his army to Fort St. David, on condition that the Engliſh would furniſh a part of the expence of maintaining it. This propoſal was agreed to, and the army prepared to take the field in two bodies, one commanded by Maphuze Khan, and the other by his brother Mahomed-ally.

In the beginning of December Mr. Dupleix recalled Paradis from Madraſs, intending to give him the command of an expedition he was preparing at Pondicherry againſt Fort St. David. Paradis ſet out with a detachment of 300 Europeans, and took the opportunity of this eſcort to carry away the booty he had acquired in the adminiſtration of his government: it conſiſted of valuable effects, which were packed in 50 or 60 cheſts. Maphuze Khan had publicly ſworn to revenge the defeat of St. Thomé; and being apprized of the march of the French detachment, reſolved to intercept them, and placed himſelf, with the troops under his command, conſiſting of 3000 horſe and 2000 foot, twenty miles to the ſouth of Madraſs. The care of his baggage made Paradis divide his men into two bodies, between which marched the Indians, called Coolies, who carried his cheſts. Maphuze Khan directed his attacks againſt the body in the rear: his cavalry hovered about this part of the French line: at times, with the appearance of men determined to charge ſword in hand, they galloped up to it; but retreated as ſoon as the French had formed themſelves. The infantry of Maphuze Khan, armed with matchlocks, fired from behind thickets and other covers upon the detachment, but at too great a diſtance to do execution. When the Moors firſt began their attack, the French were at the diſtance of nine miles from the Dutch ſettlement of Sadras, and intended to gain that town before

night: but the frequent halts which they were obliged to make in order to oppoſe the enemy greatly retarded their march. Paradis, grown anxious for the preſervation of his baggage, ordered it to move on before the advanced guard, and then marched away with that body, leaving the rear to maintain the fight as they could. The rear did not loſe courage by this ſeparation. They continued to oppoſe the Moors with vigour, and made their way good to Sadraſs, but not without the loſs of 12 Europeans, who were taken priſoners in different onſets. Maphuze Khan gave out that he had defeated the French, and ſhewed his priſoners as an inconteſtible mark of the victory, which, he ſaid, he had gained: And indeed the behaviour of Paradis after his arrival at Sadraſs ſerved to confirm the Moors in the opinion, that they had retaliated the diſgrace of St. Thomé; for he did not venture to proceed on his march until he had been reinforced by a large detachment ſent to his aſſiſtance from Pondicherry. Maphuze Khan, ſatisfied with the advantage he had gained, left the ſea-coaſt the day after the action, and proceeded to join his brother Mahomed-ally, who had taken the field. 1746.

The troops deſtined to attack Fort St. David aſſembled at Ariancopang, a ſmall Fort built by the French about two miles to the ſouth-weſt of Pondicherry, and about one mile and a half from the ſea: but Mr. Dupleix could not prevail on the officers to admit Mr. Paradis to command them, in prejudice of the right of his ſeniors in the ſervice. The command therefore was given to Mr. Bury, the oldeſt officer of the French troops in India.

The European troops in the ſervice of the colonies eſtabliſhed in Indoſtan, never conſiſt intirely of natives of that country to which the colony belongs: on the contrary, one half at leaſt is compoſed of men of all the nations in Europe. The chriſtians, who call themſelves Portugueſe, always form part of a garriſon: they are little ſuperior in courage to the lower caſts of Indians, and greatly inferior to the higher caſts, as well as to the northern Moors of Indoſtan; but becauſe they learn the manual exerciſe and the duties of a parade with ſufficient readineſs, and are clad like Europeans, they are incorporated into the companies of European troops. From wearing a hat, theſe pretended Portugueſe obtained amongſt the natives of India the name of

1746. Topaſſes; by which name the Europeans likewiſe diſtinguiſh them. The Indian natives, and Moors, who are trained in the European manner, are called Sepoys: in taking our arms and military exerciſe, they do not quit their own dreſs or any other of their cuſtoms. The Sepoys are formed into companies and battalions, and commanded by officers of their own nation and religion. Thoſe troops of the natives, who bring with them their own arms, and continue their own manner of uſing them, retain the names they bear in their ſeveral countries. On the coaſt of Coromandel the Europeans diſtinguiſh all the different kinds of undiſciplined militia by the general name of Peons, and comprehend under this name troops armed with ſwords and targets, with bows and arrows, with pikes and lances, with matchlocks, and even with muſquets.

On the 8th of December at night the French army ſet out from Ariancopang, and arrived the next morning, by break of day, at the river Panna, which runs into the ſea about a mile and a half to the north of Fort St. David: their force conſiſted of 1700 men, for the moſt part Europeans, of which 50 were cavalry: they had one or two companies of Caffre ſlaves, natives of Madagaſcar and of the eaſtern coaſt of Africa: theſe had been diſciplined, and were brought into India, by Mr. De la Bourdonnais. Their artillery conſiſted of ſix field pieces, and as many mortars.

The garriſon of fort St. David, with the addition of the officers and ſoldiers who had made their eſcape from Madraſs, conſiſted of no more than 200 Europeans, and 100 Topaſſes. Theſe were intended to defend the fort: and as the Nabob's behaviour, when Madraſs was attacked by De la Bourdonnais, had cauſed the Engliſh to doubt of his aſſiſtance, they hired 2000 Peans for the defence of Cuddalore and the company's territory, and diſtributed 8 or 900 muſquets amongſt them. At this time the Engliſh on the coaſt of Coromandel had not adopted the idea of training the Indian natives in the European diſcipline, notwithſtanding the French had ſet the example, by raiſing four or five companies of Sepoys at Pondicherry.

The French Army croſſed the river Panna, and entered the company's territory without meeting with any other oppoſition than the fire of ſome of the Peons, who galled them a little from behind thickets, and

and other covers; but retreated as ſoon as the French fired upon them with their field-pieces. At the diſtance of a mile and half to the north-weſt of Fort St. David was a country houſe appointed for the reſidence of the governor, behind which, to the north, was a large garden incloſed with a brick wall, and before the houſe, to the ſouth, a court with buildings on each ſide of it. The French paſſed the river at a ford which was about a quarter of a mile from the garden, and advanced to take poſſeſſion of it: here again they found ſome Peons, who made a little reſiſtance, but were ſoon diſlodged. Mr. Dupleix had aſſured the commander of the French troops, that the Engliſh had not been able to prevail with the Nabob to ſend more than 1500 men to their aſſiſtance; and he was ſo much perſuaded of the truth of this information, that he had given Mr. Bury poſitive orders to march through the company's territory directly to the town of Cuddalore, without loſing any time in reconnoitring, or in waiting for intelligence. The French, having hitherto met with no other reſiſtance than from the irregular ſkirmiſhes of the Peons, were confirmed in the belief of what Mr. Dupleix had aſſerted. From this confidence the ſoldiers, fatigued with a march of twelve miles, were permitted, as ſoon as they had taken poſſeſſion of the garden, to lay down their arms; and the officers neglected to ſtation guards, or to take the uſual precautions which are generally thought indiſpenſable againſt a ſurprize. In a few minutes the whole army had quitted their arms, and every man was ſtraggling according to his own inclination. Some were cutting wood to dreſs their meal, ſome were cooking it, ſome were eating, and others were laid down to ſleep. The Coolies employed in carrying the baggage, together with the Indians who conducted the camels, carts, and oxen which were laden with it, haſtened to arrive at the ſtation of repoſe; and, as ſoon as they had diſcharged the baggage promiſcuouſly in the court before the garden-houſe, they followed the example of the ſoldiers, and diſperſed. Such was the general diſorder, when a large body of forces, horſe and foot, were diſcovered approaching in good order from the weſtward, at the diſtance of a mile. Theſe troops were the Nabob's army, under the command of his ſons Maphuze Khan and Mahomed-ally, who having united the forces they ſeparately commanded, 1746.

1746. formed a body of 6000 horſe and 3000 foot, which had arrived the preceding day on the plain of Chimondalum, four miles to the weſt of Fort St. David.

Every man was conſcious of the general diſorder; his ſenſe of it increaſed the terror excited by the unexpected appearance of the Nabob's army; and the ſoldiers loſt all confidence in their officers, by whoſe neglect they were expoſed to what they thought ſuch imminent danger: they ran to their arms in confuſion; their fears prevented them from perceiving the advantage of their ſituation in the garden, where cavalry could make no impreſſion; and they imagined that the only means of ſaving themſelves was to recroſs the river before they could be attacked. Hurried away by this notion, they ruſhed out of the garden into the plain, moving on with precipitation and without order, towards the river; but the Nabob's troops came up with them before they arrived there.

The Peons of the Nabob's army, joined by thoſe belonging to the Engliſh who had rallied, fired upon them from all ſides. The men belonging to the French artillery had not participated of the general confuſion, but retreated in good order, and kept up a conſtant fire from the field-pieces upon the enemy's cavalry. Theſe, in large ſquadrons, accompanied their Peons, and at times advanced ſword in hand upon the main body of the French; but were always beat back by the fire of their artillery. As ſoon as the French troops had gained the bank, they plunged into the river, where the water was four feet deep; and now their panic was ſo great, that one half of the men flung away their arms before they reached the other ſide: but the artillery continued to preſerve their courage and order, and ſaved the field-pieces, which they tranſported over the river one after another, turning them again upon the enemy as ſoon as they were landed on the oppoſite bank.

The Engliſh at Fort St. David were apprized of the arrival of the Nabob's army at Chimondalum; and the whole garriſon, excepting 50 Topaſſes, ſallied out as ſoon as they perceived the French retreating, but did not come up in time to aſſiſt in interrupting their paſſage over the river. Having prevailed upon the Nabob's army to accompany them, they advanced in purſuit of the French, but did not overtake

take them until they had marched ſix miles on the other ſide of the river. By this time the French troops had recovered from their panic, and were drawn up in ſuch good order, that it was not thought prudent to attack them. They continued their march to Arioncopang, where they arrived at ſeven in the evening, having been in motion, with very little reſpite, for 24 hours. On a review of the ſtate of their army, they found that 120 of their Europeans had been wounded, and 12 killed. They had left behind them at the garden all the baggage which was come up before the Moors appeared. The Engliſh, on their return from the purſuit, found ſeveral cheſts of muſquets, and other military ſtores; but a body of the Nabob's cavalry had plundered all the reſt of the baggage as ſoon as the French quitted the garden. 1746.

Mr. Dupleix judging, from the ill ſucceſs of this expedition, that any open attempts againſt the Engliſh at Fort St. David would be fruſtrated whilſt the Moors continued to aſſiſt them, entered into a correſpondence with the Nabob and Maphuze Khan, to induce them to withdraw their troops: and at the ſame time he formed a project to take Cuddalore by ſurprize. The French army continued at Arioncopang; and on the 30th of December a number of boats were ſent from Pondicherry to the mouth of the river which runs along the ſouth ſide of that fort. As ſoon as it was night, 500 men were ſent from Arioncopang, and embarked on board of theſe boats, with orders to proceed by ſea to Cuddalore, where they were to enter the river which runs along the eaſtern ſide, and attack the town from this quarter by break of day. The boats were ſcarcely got through the ſurf, when the wind roſe from the ſouth, and blew ſo hard that ſeveral of the boats filled with water, and all of them were obliged to put back. The ſurf now beat ſo high on the coaſt, that the ſoldiers flung away their arms, as incumbrances which would prevent them from gaining the ſhore; for in high ſurfs the boat is quitted as ſoon as it touches the ground, leſt the ſucceeding wave ſhould break upon it, and overwhelm thoſe who are in it.

Mr. Dupleix, thus diſappointed in this ſecond expedition againſt Cuddalore, finding that the Nabob's army ſtill continued with the Engliſh, attempted to cauſe a diverſion of their troops, by carrying the war into the country near Madraſs. A detachment from the town marched

1746. marched 20 miles inland, burning and deſtroying all the villages they came to: they met with no reſiſtance in their way; for the inhabitants took to flight as they approached; and the Nabob had no troops in that part of his country. The French found large quantities of grain in ſeveral places, which, for want of means to carry it away, they ſet fire to. They gained no advantage by this expedition; for the Moors remained at Fort St. David, and the Nabob was more exaſperated than before.

1747. On the 9th of January the four ſhips, that compoſed the largeſt diviſion of the ſquadron in which Mr. de la Bourdonnais quitted the coaſt, returned from Achin to Pondicherry. Mr. Dupleix informed the Nabob of their arrival, exaggerated the addition of force which Pondicherry received from it, and at the ſame time repreſented the Engliſh at Fort St. David as a handful of men abandoned by the reſt of their countrymen. The princes of Indoſtan, as well as their ſubjects, take no pains to inform themſelves of any affairs excepting thoſe of their own country. The long abſence of the Engliſh ſquadron, joined to the precipitation with which it had quitted the coaſt in September, concurred with Mr. Dupleix's aſſertions, to make the Moors believe that the Engliſh concerns in India were becoming deſperate. The governments of Indoſtan have no idea of national honour in the conduct of their politics; and as ſoon as they think the party with whom they are engaged is reduced to great diſtreſs, they ſhift, without heſitation, their alliance to the oppoſite ſide, making immediate advantage the only rule of their action. The Nabob ordered his ſon Maphuze Khan to liſten to Mr. Dupleix's propoſals of an accommodation, and ſent back to Pondicherry the two deputies who had been detained priſoners by Maphuze Khan, when he inveſted Madraſs. One of theſe priſoners was nephew to Mr. Dupleix, and the other a member of the council of Pondicherry: they had been kept at Arcot during their captivity, and were perhaps the only Europeans, excepting ſome vagabonds and Jeſuits, who had made ſo long a reſidence in the capital of the Carnatic, ſince the province had been conquered by the Great Mogul. The Moors had hitherto been careful to prevent Europeans from informing themſelves of the ſtate of the country, and the Europeans, ſolely employed in commerce, were

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ſo little ſolicitous of acquiring ſuch information, that at this time they knew as little of Arcot as of Delhi. 1747.

But Mr. Dupleix, while he was perſuading the Nabob that the Engliſh affairs were without reſource, was himſelf apprehenſive of the return of their ſquadron, and did not think the ſhips arrived from Achin a force ſufficient to encounter it: therefore, as ſoon as he found that there was a probability of withdrawing the Moors from the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh, he ordered the ſhips to quit the coaſt of Coromandel. They left Pondicherry the 8th of February, and ſailed to Goa, the capital of the Portugueſe ſettlements in India. A few days after, Maphuze Khan went to Pondicherry, where he was received with pomp and much reſpect. Mr. Dupleix paid him 50,000 rupees in money, and made him a preſent of European trinkets to the value of 100,000 rupees more: a peace was concluded between the French and the Nabob, who recalled his army from Fort St. David. The Engliſh at Fort St. David had not hitherto received any ſupplies either from Europe or the colonies in India.

An Eaſt India ſhip from England appeared in ſight of Madraſs in the month of November, and ignorant of the loſs of the place, approached the road. Mr. Paradis, who was then governor, upon deſcrying the ſhip, ordered Engliſh colours to be hoiſted in the town, and ſent a detachment of ſoldiers on board the Eaſt India ſhip that the French had taken on the day that Madraſs ſurrendered, which was at anchor in the road weakly manned. This ſhip likewiſe hoiſted Engliſh colours. The ſhip from the ſea caſt anchor, without any ſuſpicion, near the prize, which immediately attacked her, but in ſo unſkilful a manner, that Paradis began to apprehend the prize herſelf would be taken. He therefore began to fire from all the batteries in the town that commanded the road upon the Engliſh ſhip, which, diſcovering by theſe hoſtilities that Madraſs was in poſſeſſion of the French, weighed her anchor, and went out of the road without having received any damage. In January another ſhip from England came to an anchor before Madraſs: the French immediately ſent, by a fiſhing-float, a letter written in Engliſh, pretending that the town was inveſted by the Moors, and that they ſhould immediately ſend boats to bring on ſhore the treaſure and

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1747. the ſoldiers. The captain, deceived by this letter, as well as by the flag which was flying in the town, entertained no ſuſpicion, and permitted the boats to come to the ſhip without examination. A number of ſoldiers were concealed in them, who in the ſame inſtant boarded the ſhip from different quarters. The greateſt part of the ſhip's company were enfeebled by the ſcurvy, and thoſe who were capable of making reſiſtance were ſo much ſurpriſed, that they were eaſily overpowered by the French ſoldiers, before they were capable of recollecting themſelves to act with reſolution. The ſhip was taken, and in her 60,000l. in bullion. In the interval another Engliſh East India ſhip anchored in the road of Fort St. David, where the governor immediately ſent off a letter to the captain, acquainting him with the loſs of Madraſs, of the great ſuperiority of the French force on the coaſt of Coromandel, and of the diſtreſſes to which the fort was reduced by the want both of men and money. The ſhip was, as uſual, conſigned to the governor and council of Madraſs; and the diſtreſſes of Fort St. David, inſtead of inducing the captain to aſſiſt them, only ſuggeſted to him the riſk to which his own fortune might be expoſed, by landing the company's treaſure, contrary to the letter of his inſtructions, in a ſettlement threatned with ſuch imminent danger. Actuated by this motive, he refuſed to comply with the requeſt made him by the governor of Fort St. David, and ſet ſail for Bengal without landing the ſoldiers, or any part of the cargo. Theſe ſiniſter accidents ſerved to confirm Mr. Dupleix's aſſertions, even in the opinion of the Engliſh themſelves, that their ſituation was growing deſperate, when at laſt, on the 19th of February, the ſhip which had eſcaped out of the road of Madraſs in November came from Ceylon, and landed 60,000 l. in ſilver, together with 20 recruits for the garriſon: the money was a very important ſupply; for the treaſury of Fort St. David was almoſt exhauſted when the ſhip arrived.

The French army appeared in ſight of Fort St. David in the morning of the 2d of March: it conſiſted of the ſame troops which had been routed by the Moors at the garden: but Mr. Dupleix had now prevailed on the officers to receive Mr. Paradis for their commander. The Engliſh garriſon marched out, with three field pieces, and a troop of horſe compoſed chiefly of volunteers, to prevent the French from croſſing

croſſing the river Panna, and found them drawn up about 600 yards on the other ſide of it: a cannonading enſued, which continued during the greateſt part of the day; and in the evening a part of the French army croſſed the river, out of the reach of cannon-ſhot, to the weſtward: the horſe were detached to reconnoitre them, and returned with the loſs of two men killed by the fire of the French Caffres; upon which the troops retreated to the fort. Of the Engliſh 12 men, and of the French 22, were killed during the cannonade. Before morning the whole French army had paſſed the river, and taken poſſeſſion of the garden. A few hours afterwards a number of ſhips were deſcried to to the north, approaching the road: theſe were the Engliſh ſquadron from Bengal. The French no ſooner perceived them than they recroſſed the river, and marched back with great precipitation towards Pondicherry. 1747.

The ſquadron had been reinforced in Bengal by the arrival of two ſhips, one of 60 guns and the other of 40, ſent from England with admiral Griffin, who was appointed commander in chief. The preſidency of Bengal ſent in the ſquadron a company of 100 Europeans, who were landed as ſoon as the ſhips anchored; and Mr. Griffin likewiſe ſent on ſhore 150 marines and 500 ſailors; but theſe were only intended to be a temporary augmentation of the garriſon. The ſhips were ſoon after ſtationed in ſight of Pondicherry, where their appearance made Mr. Dupleix recal the French army into the town.

In the month of June, a reinforcement of 100 Europeans, 200 Topaſſes, and 100 Sepoys, arrived from Bombay, and 400 Sepoys from the Engliſh ſettlement of Tellicherry: and 150 ſoldiers came likewiſe in the company's ſhips in the courſe of the year from Europe. In September, the ſquadron ſailed to Madraſs, and their boats ſet fire to, and deſtroyed in the road one of the ſhips of Mr. De la Bourdonnais's ſquadron, which had remained on the coaſt ever ſince his departure.

The approach of the ſtormy monſoon in October did not induce Mr. Griffin to quit the coaſt: he ordered the ſhips to continue in ſight of Fort St. David; the monſoon began and continued without any violent hurricane, but the weather was notwithſtanding ſo ſtormy that only two of the ſhips were able to keep their ſtations. The reſt made ſail

1747. to the Bay of Trincanomaly in Ceylon; from whence they returned in the beginning of the year 1748. The Medway, which had been the firſt cauſe of the Engliſh diſgraces and misfortunes in India, was in ſo bad a condition, that ſhe was ſoon after condemned as unfit for ſervice; ſhe had been hove down at Calcutta in Bengal, but her leaks had not been thoroughly repaired.

1748. In the month of January 1748, Major Laurence arrived from England at Fort St. David, with a commiſſion to command all the Eaſt India company's forces in India. At this time intelligence was received that Mr. Dupleix was preparing to make another attempt againſt Cuddalore: upon which the Major ordered all the troops at Fort St. David to form a camp between the garden and the river Panna. Here they continued ſome time; when it was diſcovered that the commander of the Tellicherry Seapoys, a Moor, had formed a deſign to deſert with all his men to the French, in the firſt Engagement that ſhould happen. This diſcovery led to others. It was found that an Indian, who, before Madraſs was loſt, had acted as interpreter and agent of the Engliſh governor of that place, carried on a correſpondence with the wife of Mr. Dupleix in the Malabar language, which ſhe underſtood. When the governor was removed by the French to Pondicherry, this man accompanied him; and Mrs. Dupleix, by civilities and promiſes, engaged him to give her intelligence of the tranſactions of the Engliſh at Fort St. David, which he had for ſome time done with great punctuality. The facts were proved; and the traitor, with another Indian his accomplice, was hanged. The commander of the Tellicherry Sepoys, with ten other officers belonging to that body, were baniſhed to the iſland of St. Helena, where ſeveral of them gave terrible examples of the force of deſpair, by aſſiſting one another in putting an end to their lives, rather than remain in ſlavery in a place, of which the ſituation excluded them from all hopes of being able to make their eſcape to their native country.

The four French ſhips which ſailed from Pondicherry in February 1747. left Goa and the coaſt of Malabar in October, and ſailed to the iſland of Mauritius. They were here joined by three others, one of 50 and two of 40 guns, ſent from France. The two 40 gun ſhips had been in

in India, and had taken an Engliſh Eaſt India ſhip in ſight of the iſland of Bombay. This prize would have been very conſiderable, had not the vigilance of the governor of the iſland ſaved the ſilver that was on board, by ſending from the ſhore two fiſhing-boats, which brought away the treaſure, whilſt the ſhip was defending itſelf againſt the enemy. 1748.

On the 9th of June at night the Engliſh 20 gun ſhip returned from a cruize, and brought intelligence to Fort St. David that ſhe had diſcovered ſeven large ſhips to the ſouth. Theſe were the French ſquadron, which had ſailed from Mauritius in the latter end of April. The Engliſh ſquadron, lately reinforced by three ſhips from England, was now compoſed of three ſhips of 60 guns, three of 50, three of 40, and one of 20 guns. Theſe were at anchor in the road; but the rudder of one of the 40 gun ſhips was unhung, and Mr. Griffin and ſeveral of the officers were on ſhore, where many of the men were likewiſe, in the hoſpital.

During the ſouthern monſoon the wind blows conſtantly from the ſouth-weſt in all parts of the bay of Bengal, except at the diſtance of 10 or 15 leagues from the land; and here it generally changes in 24 hours, blowing a part of this time from the ſea at ſouth-eaſt, and during the reſt from the land at ſouth-weſt: the land-wind generally riſes about midnight, and laſts till noon, but it is not always confined to this interval; for ſome days it continues until the evening, and at other times, when very ſtrong, blows for three or four days without interruption. The ſea-wind very ſeldom continues more than 12 hours, and is generally preceded by a ſhort interval of calm. During the ſouthern monſoon the currents, as well near the land as out at ſea, drive ſtrongly to the north.

A ſhip during the ſea-wind cannot gain way to the ſouth; for the ſea is then rough, and the wind ſeldom inclines to the eaſt of the ſouth-eaſt point: but as the land-wind often veers to the weſt point, and always renders the ſea ſmooth within ſight of the coaſt, ſhips bound to the ſouth make ſome progreſs during this wind, and either drop anchor to maintain their ground if they are near ſhore when the land-wind fails, or if they are at ſome diſtance they continue under ſail, and with the ſea-wind come near the ſhore, where they are ready to avail themſelves

1748. ſelves again of the land-wind as ſoon as it ſets in. By theſe operations a veſſel that ſails well ſometimes gets ten or fifteen miles to the ſouth in a day; but it is not uncommon to ſee others employed a month in getting only 100 miles to the ſouthward.

On the 10th of June at noon the French ſhips were diſcerned in the ſouth-eaſt. The ſea-wind was ſet in, and they were ſailing directly before it toward Fort St. David. The poſition of the Engliſh ſquadron, at anchor near the land to leeward, rendered it impoſſible for them to get nearer the enemy during the ſea-wind; for had they weighed anchor immediately, the neareſt courſe they could have made would have been to the north-eaſt out to ſea, and this would very ſoon have carried them to leeward of Pondicherry. Mr. Griffin therefore determined not to weigh anchor till night, when the land-wind ſhould ſet in: in the interval the officers and men on ſhore were ordered to join their ſhips. At four in the afternoon the French ſquadron, being within three leagues of the road, altered their courſe, and plied to the ſouth-weſt. This operation made the Engliſh believe that they kept to windward with intention to gain Pondicherry at all events. About midnight the Engliſh put to ſea with the land-wind, endeavouring to keep in the latitude of Fort St. David; and in the morning they ſhortened ſail, in expectation every minute of ſeeing the enemy again to the ſouth; but before the evening they fell to leeward of Pondicherry, when Mr. Griffin, finding his expectations deceived, made ſail to Madraſs, where he arrived the next evening, and found no French ſhips in the road.

The French ſquadron was commanded by M. Bouvet, governor of the iſle of Bourbon, an able and experienced mariner. He had been apprized, at the French ſettlement of Karrical, of the ſuperior force of the Engliſh: his operations, when in ſight of Fort St. David, were deſigned to make the Engliſh believe that he intended to engage them the next morning: but as ſoon as the night ſet in he changed his courſe, and crouding all the ſail his ſhips could carry, went away to Madraſs, where he arrived the next morning the 11th of June, and immediately landed 400 ſoldiers, with 200,000 pounds in ſilver, which had been ſent from France to the iſland of Mauritius for the ſervice of Pondicherry. Having thus effected the deſign of his voyage, he put

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out to ſea on his return to Mauritius before the Engliſh ſquadron appeared in ſight of Madraſs. 1748.

Mr. Dupleix perceiving that the Engliſh ſquadron had ſailed to Madraſs, from whence they could not return to Fort St. David in ſome days, determined to avail himſelf of their abſence, and make another attack upon Cuddalore. Eight hundred Europeans, with 1000 Sepoys, marched from Pondicherry, and making a circuit inland, arrived on the 17th of June in the morning within three miles of Cuddalore, at the hills of Bandapolam. Here they halted during the day, and intended at night to attack Cuddalore by ſurprize.

Major Lawrence receiving intelligence of this deſign, ordered the garriſon to march and the cannon to be removed to Fort St. David, intending by this operation to make the French believe that he did not think the place tenable. As ſoon as night came on, the garriſon, augmented to the number of 400 Europeans, together with the cannon, were ſent back to Cuddalore, with the precautions neceſſary to prevent the enemy from receiving intelligence of their return. The ſtratagem ſucceeded.

At midnight the French advanced with ſcaling ladders, which they no ſooner began to apply to the walls than they received the fire of all the muſquetry from the ramparts, together with that of four or five pieces of cannon loaded with grape-ſhot. This unexpected reſiſtance ſtruck the whole body, officers as well as ſoldiers, with a panic. Moſt of the men flung away their arms without firing a ſhot: but the precipitation of their flight prevented the Engliſh fire from doing much execution amongſt them: nor did their fears quit them when arrived at the place of their encampment; for expecting to be followed, they marched on without halting until they came to the bounds of Pondicherry.

It was now ſome time that Mr. Dupleix had, with great activity, been employed in making diſpoſitions to reſiſt an armament bound to the Eaſt Indies under the command of admiral Boſcawen, of whoſe deſtination the French at Pondicherry, as well as the Engliſh at Fort St. David, had received intelligence. This armament conſiſted of one ſhip of 74 guns, one of 64, two of 60, two of 50, one of 20, a ſloop of 14 guns, a bomb-ſhip with her tender, and an hoſpital-ſhip. To theſe

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1748. were joined eleven of the company's ſhips, which ſerved to tranſport a part of the troops and military ſtores; and on board of this fleet were 1500 ſoldiers. Mr. Boſcawen left England in November, and arrived at the Cape of Good Hope the latter end of March, where he was joined by ſix ſhips belonging to the Dutch Eaſt India company, on board of which were 400 ſoldiers. With this reinforcement he ſet ſail from the Cape on the 23d of June for the iſland of Mauritius, which he had orders to attack in his way to the coaſt of Coromandel.

The Portugueſe, in their firſt navigations to India, diſcovered three iſlands, laying to the eaſtward of Madagaſcar, between the 19th and 20th degree of latitude. The moſt weſtern of theſe, from the name of the perſon who diſcovered it, they called Maſcarenhas; but the French, when they took poſſeſſion of it in 1675, gave it the name of Bourbon, which now prevails. The eaſtern iſland the Portugueſe called Diego Reys; which name it retains to this day; and that between Bourbon and Diego Reys they called Cerne, probably from a ſuppoſition that it was the Cerne of the ancients. The Dutch, when they made this a ſtation of refreſhment for their ſhips coming from India, called it Mauritius: the French, when they took poſſeſſion of it the beginning of the preſent century, named it the Iſle of France; but this appellation has prevailed only amongſt themſelves, the other Europeans ſtill calling it Mauritius.

The Portugueſe found on theſe iſlands neither men nor any four-footed animals, excepting land-tortoiſes, but great flocks of paroquets, doves, and ſea-fowls; and the ſea abounds with fiſh of various kinds, and with great numbers of turtle.

The iſland of Bourbon is 60 miles in length from north to ſouth, and 45 in breadth from eaſt to weſt. It has no port; and the only part where boats can land is in the road of St. Paul to the north-weſt. It has no plains, the whole being either hills of eaſy aſcent, or ſteep mountains ſeparated by narrow vallies. Theſe mountains continue riſing one above another from the ſea coaſt to the middle of the iſland; ſo that in whatever view it is ſeen at a diſtance, it appears one convex ſurface riſing out of the ſea. The French took poſſeſſion of it in the year 1665, and finding the ſoil rich, cultivated it with great aſſiduity: it now pro-

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duces wheat, and moſt of the garden vegetables of Europe, as well as thoſe of India, with many fruits peculiar to both climates: the mango, China orange, and peach, grow in great plenty and in great perfection. But the principal object of their agriculture, and what has rendered the iſland of importance in their commerce, is the cultivation of the coffee-tree, of which they brought the plants from Beit-ul Fakih in Arabia; and theſe have throve ſo well, that the iſland now produces 2000 tons of coffee every year. The cultivation of this tree, as well as moſt other ſervices of toil, are performed by Caffre ſlaves brought from Africa and Madagaſcar. The French have a breed of horſes, which, tho' ſmall, are eſteemed for their hardineſs; and they have reared beeves, goats, ſheep, and hogs, in ſufficient quantities to ſupply the wants of the inhabitants, although not in ſuch plenty as to furniſh proviſion for their ſhipping; but this neglect ſeems to have ariſen from the facility and cheapneſs wherewith theſe and other proviſions may be procured from the weſtern ſide of Madagaſcar, where they have ſettlements. Several families from France eſtabliſhed themſelves here ſoon after the French took poſſeſſion of it, and from them are deſcended the preſent inhabitants, who are now multiplied to the number of 4000, of which 1000 are men capable of bearing arms: theſe have not degenerated from their anceſtors, but on the contrary are a race ſo remarkable for ſtature and proportion, as well as for health and ſtrength, that they equal, if not exceed in theſe qualities, the moſt athletic of the European nations. They are the only colony of Europeans eſtabliſhed within the tropics which have preſerved theſe advantages. 1748.

The inconveniencies ariſing from the want of a port at Bourbon, induced the French to take poſſeſſion of Mauritius. This iſland extends about 45 miles in length from north to ſouth, and about 30 from weſt to eaſt. In the north-eaſtern quarter is a plain extending about ten miles from eaſt to weſt, and in ſome places five miles in-land from the northern coaſt. All the reſt of the iſland is full of high and ſteep mountains, laying ſo near to one another that the intervals between them, inſtead of vallies, form only beds of torrents; and theſe are choaked with vaſt fragments of ſtone torn from the rock above. The ſummits

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1748. of theſe mountains are covered with foreſts of ebony and other large trees, and the ground under the ſhade of the trees produces herbage, ſhrubs, and plants of various ſorts, from the common graſs to the ſtrongeſt thorn, in ſuch profuſion that they form a thicket ſo cloſely interwoven, that a ſtep cannot be made, but with the hatchet in hand. Many plantations have notwithſtanding been raiſed with ſucceſs on theſe mountains, and ſome improvements made on the plain to the north-eaſt; but the productions, altho' moſtly of the ſame kind, are in leſs quantity, and in leſs perfection, than at Bourbon: it produces no coffée; but, by the induſtry of M. de la Bourdonnais, ſugar, indigo, and cotton, which are not at Bourbon, were cultivated here with ſucceſs; and although theſe plantations have been much neglected ſince his departure, they may at any time be recovered. They are at this time endeavouring to cultivate the genuine cinnamon, from plants procured at Ceylon; but theſe, if they do not periſh, will in all probability, from the difference of ſoil and climate, greatly degenerate. Iron mines have been diſcovered in the mountains, near the plain to the north-eaſt; and, theſe mountains ſupplying great quantities of fuel, forges have been erected; but the iron produced is brittle, and is made into cannon-balls and ſhells for mortars. Beeves, ſheep, and goats, are preſerved with great difficulty: the beeves generally die before they have been a year in the iſland, and are therefore frequently imported from Madagaſcar and other parts. Common domeſtic fowls breed in great plenty; and theſe, with fiſh and turtle, furniſh a great part of the food of the European inhabitants. Theſe have multiplied very little by marriage, moſt of them being natives of France. Their Caffre ſlaves are ſubject to great mortalities from the ſmall-pox and other epidemical diſtempers.

Mauritius has two ports, one on the ſouth-eaſt coaſt, and the other on the north-weſt. The trade-wind from the ſouth-eaſt blows in theſe latitudes all the year round, excepting for a few days at the ſummer ſolſtice, when it is interrupted by hard gales and hurricanes from the north. The facility with which this wind enables ſhips to enter the ſouth-eaſt port, induced the French, when they firſt took poſſeſſion of the iſland, to give the preference to this harbour; but on finding that the ſame wind often rendered the paſſage out ſo difficult that a ſhip was ſometimes

times obliged to wait a fortnight before ſhe could put to ſea, they left it, and have ever ſince made uſe of the other harbour. This lies nearly in the middle of the north ſide of the iſland; and its entrance is through a channel formed by two ſhoals, which advance about a mile into the ſea. When a ſhip arrives oppoſite to this channel, the ſouth-eaſt wind hinders her from entering the port under ſail; and ſhe muſt either warp in with cables, or be towed in by boats: the neceſſity of this operation, joined to the narrowneſs of the channel, which does not afford paſſage for two ſhips a-breaſt, is one of the greateſt difficulties an enemy would meet with in attacking the harbour; for although there are two forts, and as many batteries, which command the channel, yet theſe might eaſily be reduced, if ſhips of force could approach them under ſail. This port is capable of containing 100 ſail, and is provided with all the neceſſaries for repairing and even for building of ſhips. The entrance of the ſouth-eaſt port is defended by batteries; and an army landed here would meet with great difficulties in paſſing over the mountains to the other parts of the iſland. There are ſeveral places, between the north-eaſt extremity and the north port, where boats may land; but all theſe are defended by batteries, and the country behind them is a continued thicket: the reſt of the coaſt is inacceſſible; and the French, relying on the difficulties of approaching the ſhore, had made no fortifications in any part of the iſland to obſtruct the progreſs of an enemy when landed. 1748.

The greateſt extent of Diego Reys is 27 miles: it is full of rocks, which harbour great numbers of land tortoiſes of a very large ſize, which are eſteemed excellent food: here the French keep a detachment of men, who are employed in catching theſe animals for the inhabitants of Mauritius; and this is the principal uſe they make of Diego Reys.

The ſouth-eaſt trade-wind obliges all ſhips bound to theſe iſlands to approach them from the eaſt. The paſſage from Diego Reys to Mauritius is performed in two days, and from Mauritius to Bourbon in one; but it requires near a month to go from Bourbon either to Mauritius or Diego Reys: from April to October the voyage from Mauritius to the coaſt of Coromandel is eaſily performed in a month. Theſe iſlands

1748. being out of the track of common intelligence, a large armament, ſent in detail from France, may rendezvous in the port of Mauritius, and from thence arrive in India before any intelligence is received there either of its ſtrength or deſtination: hence it is evident, that, if we have any regard to our ſettlements in India, the reduction of this place ought to be one of the firſt objects of our attention in the beginning of a war with France. The poſſeſſion of Mauritius would probably be followed by the voluntary ſubmiſſion of Bourbon, or would certainly render it of no uſe to the French for the purpoſes of war.

The ſquadron under the command of admiral Boſcawen was thirty-five days in its paſſage from the Cape of Good Hope to Mauritius, and came in ſight of the eaſtern coaſt on the 23d of June at day-break. Three of the Dutch ſhips were miſſing, having ſeparated from the reſt in bad weather. As ſoon as the ſhips came to the north-eaſt point of the iſland, they proceeded along the northern coaſt in a line of battle a-head, the men of war leading, and the company's ſhips following them; and before night they had advanced within two leagues of the port, and came to anchor in a kind of bay laying between the mouths of two ſmall rivers. They had hitherto diſcovered only two places along the ſhore where the ſmoothneſs of the water ſeemed to indicate a poſſibility of making a deſcent, and theſe were defended by two faſcine batteries of ſix guns each, which fired on the ſhips as they paſſed: all the reſt of the ſhore was defended by rocks and breakers.

The next morning the French began to fire upon the ſquadron from two other faſcine batteries raiſed at the entrance of the two rivers between which it was at anchor, and the fire was returned from one of the 50 gun ſhips, but with very little execution on either ſide.

Mr. Boſcawen now ordered the ſloop to reconnoitre the coaſt quite up to the port; and ſhe reported, on her return, that ſhe had been fired upon by eight different batteries planted along the ſhore, as well as from the forts at the entrance of the harbour, where a large ſhip of two tiers lay at anchor, with her broadſide acroſs it; and that there were thirteen other ſhips at anchor within the harbour. As ſoon as it was dark the barges

barges of the ſix line of battle ſhips were ſent to ſound, and on their return declared that they had found a reef of rocks running all along about 20 yards from the ſhore, which rendered it impoſſible for boats to land, except at the entrance of the rivers over againſt which the fleet was at anchor, or at the harbour itſelf: here they had diſcovered, that the channel leading into it was not more than 100 fathom wide, and that this entrance would be ſubject to the greateſt difficulties by the oppoſition of the ſouth-eaſt wind. Upon receiving this intelligence, the admiral called a council of war, compoſed of the principal land and ſea officers, and it was reſolved, that, as they were ignorant of the ſtrength of the enemy, three armed boats ſhould be ſent to endeavour to land in the night, and take by ſurprize a man from the ſhore, from whom intelligence might probably be obtained: this was attempted, but in vain. The next morning, the 25th of June, the council of war aſſembled again, and were of opinion, that the attack of the iſland would be attended with the loſs of ſo many men, and of ſo much time, that the armament might loſe the opportunity of undertaking the ſiege of Pondicherry, which Mr. Boſcawen was inſtructed to conſider as the principal object of his deſtination: it was therefore reſolved to proceed to the coaſt of Coromandel without delay, that the ſquadron might arrive there in time to act before the change of the monſoon in October. 1748.

The reduction of the iſland would probably have ſucceeded, had it been attempted; for the whole of the French force conſiſted only of 500 regular troops, 200 European inhabitants diſciplined as militia, 1500 Caffre ſlaves on whoſe ſervice and attachment the French had little reliance, and 1000 ſailors belonging to the ſhips; whereas there were 8000 Europeans in the fleet under Mr. Boſcawen's command, and of theſe 2000 were regular troops.

The deſiſting from this enterprize may be attributed to the long ſtay made at the Cape of Good Hope, where the ſquadron remained fifty-five days, when it ought if poſſible to have left it a month ſooner; for by arriving thus much earlier in the ſeaſon at Mauritius, they might have found opportunities of learning the real ſtate of the enemy on ſhore, and diſcovered that it was practicable to attack the harbour itſelf with the ſhips. The ſouth-eaſt trade-wind blows with leaſt force

1748. about ſun-riſe, and it generally happens on four or five days in the courſe of a month, that early in the morning this wind ceaſes in the northern part of the iſland for an hour or two, during which a breeze riſes, although faintly, from the north-weſt: a ſhip ſtationed at the entrance of the channel, to avail herſelf of this breeze, might enter the harbour under ſail, and the forts and batteries were not capable of withſtanding many hours the fire of ſo many ſhips of the line as Mr. Boſcawen commanded.

The fleet left the iſland the 27th of June, when the Dutch ſhips, now joined by one of their comrades which had parted company during the paſſage, quitted the Engliſh, and ſailed away for Batavia, and Mr. Boſcawen ſteered for the coaſt of Coromandel, by the neareſt route, between the iſlands and ſhoals that lie to the north of Mauritius; and on the 29th of July arrived at Fort St. David, where he found the ſquadron under admiral Griffin, who reſigned the command to him, and a few days after proceeded with a ſixty-gun ſhip and two frigates to Trincanomaly, from whence in the month of January he ſet ſail with them to England.

The junction of the two ſquadrons formed the greateſt marine force belonging to any one European nation that had ever been ſeen together in the Eaſt Indies; for it conſiſted of more than 30 ſhips, none of which were of leſs than 500 tons burden, and 13 of them men of war of the line. Every perſon attached to the Engliſh cauſe, who beheld this formidable force, was elated with joy, from expectation of its ſucceſs, and no one doubted that the loſs of Madraſs would be revenged by the capture of Pondicherry. Preparations had been made at Fort St. David to enable Mr. Boſcawen to proceed to action without delay; and on the 8th of Auguſt the army began to march.

Twelve independent companies of 100 men each, 800 marines belonging to the ſhips, with 80 artillery-men, compoſed the regular troops in the king's ſervice: the company's troops conſiſted of a battalion of 750 men, of which 200 were Topaſſes, together with 70 artillery-men: the Dutch at Negapatam ſent a reinforcement of 120 Europeans: and there were on board the ſhips, ready to be landed, 1100 ſeamen, who had been taught the manual exerciſe at ſea: all theſe formed a body of

of 4120 Europeans, to which were joined 1100 Sepoys, paid by the company, who were as yet ſcarcely better diſciplined than common Peons; and the Nabob Anwar-adean Khan, ſtill changing ſides, as he found the French or Engliſh affairs gaining the advantage, ſent a body of 2000 horſe. The heavy cannon and the cumbrous ſtores were laden on board the ſhips, which proceeded before the army, and anchored two miles to the ſouth of Pondicherry. 1748.

The company's agents at Fort St. David had gained very little intelligence neceſſary to direct Mr. Boſcawen in his operations; for when the army approaching near the bounds of Pondicherry, came in ſight of the fort of Ariancopang, there was no perſon who could give a deſcription of the place: however, it was determined that it ſhould be taken before the army proceeded any farther. The engineers were ordered to reconnoitre it, and reported that the body of the place was of little ſtrength; but that the enemy had thrown up, a few yards in front of the fort, an entrenchment, which muſt be firſt ſtormed, and afterwards the fort might be eaſily taken. A detachment of 700 men was ordered upon this ſervice, and at day-break marched up with great reſolution to what they believed an outwork filled with troops; but on a nearer approach they diſcovered that this ſuppoſed entrenchment was nothing but a heap of ruins, and that at a few yards behind it lay the fort of Ariancopang, not with ſuch ſlender defences as had been reported, but fortified with a cavalier at each of the angles, a deep dry ditch full of pit-falls, and a covered way. Theſe works rendered it impoſſible to take the place by a ſudden onſet. The troops now found themſelves expoſed to a very warm fire of muſquetry, and cannon loaded with grape-ſhot; but their courage and ſtrong ſenſe of diſgrace prevented them from retreating immediately, notwithſtanding it was evident that they expoſed themſelves to no purpoſe. In this uncertainty they remained in the reach of the enemy's fire ſo long that 150 of the gallanteſt men and ſome of the braveſt officers in the army were either killed or wounded. Major Goodere, who commanded the attack, was mortally wounded, and in him the army loſt the perſon on whoſe ſkill and experience Mr. Boſcawen principally relied for conducting the ſiege of Pondicherry.

This

1748. This blundering diſaſter affected the ſpirits of the men to ſuch a degree, that it was ſome time before they recovered themſelves; and never ſufficiently to entertain the ſame ſanguine hopes of ſucceſs againſt Pondicherry, which inſpired them when they left Fort St. David. However, the reſolution of reducing Ariancopang was continued, and the diſciplined ſailors, with eight pieces of battering cannon, were landed from the ſhips. The French, knowing the advantage of gaining time at this ſeaſon of the year, prudently determined to defend the fort as long as poſſible: the garriſon conſiſted of 100 Europeans; and 300 Sepoys with a body of 60 European cavalry encamped near the fort. On the oppoſite ſide of the river which runs to the north, and cloſe by the fort of Ariancopang, they erected a battery of heavy cannon to obſtruct and enfilade the approaches to the fort. The Engliſh engineers erected a battery in the plain on the ſouth ſide of the river, to oppoſe and ſilence that of the enemy; but ſuch was their neglect in reconnoitring, or their want of ſkill in their art, that when at day-break they opened the battery, moſt of the guns were found to be intercepted from the ſight of the enemy's by a thick wood. The artillery officers now offered their ſervice to erect another, which they compleated with ſufficient ſkill before the next morning: and for greater ſecurity, threw up before it an entrenchment, in which a large detachment, conſiſting of ſoldiers and ſailors, was poſted. At day-break the battery began to play on that of the enemy, and the fire was continued for ſome time on both ſides, with little execution done on either. Some of the French Sepoys, at the diſtance of four hundred yards, kept up an irregular fire, and a random ſhot happened to kill a ſailor, and at this inſtant the French troop of horſe, accompanied by a body of Sepoys, appeared advancing. The ſailors, already ſtruck with ſome conſternation at the death of the man, were terrified by the approach of the enemy, and abandoned the entrenchment: the regular troops caught the panic, and followed the ſailors in ſpite of the efforts and exhortations made by their officers to keep them in their poſt. The horſe advanced, and took poſſeſſion of the entrenchment, and afterwards purſued the fugitives to the battery, where theſe, preſſing upon one another, formed an irregular column of fifteen men

men in depth: for here the face of the battery hindered them from retreating any farther; and thus interrupted in their flight, and encouraged by their officers, the men turned and fired upon the enemy. Six or ſeven of the French horſemen were killed, and the horſe of the commanding officer dropping likewiſe, the officer himſelf was taken priſoner, on which the enemy retreated, leaving the Engliſh in admiration of their intrepidity. Beſides the diſadvantage of leaving the troops impreſſed with a high opinion of the French proweſs, this action was attended with another misfortune in the loſs of Major Lawrence, who commanded this day in the entrenchment, and rather than participate of the ignominy of taking flight with the troops, remained there with two or three officers: he was diſarmed, and obliged to ſurrender himſelf priſoner to a French trooper, who knowing, it is probable, the value of his prize, immediately hurried him away by the ſide of his horſe to Ariancopang in ſight of the army; and no efforts were made to reſcue him. 1748.

The army now began to make regular approaches to the fort, and carried them on for three or four days very ſlowly, when a large quantity of gunpowder taking fire in the enemy's battery, blew it up, and near 100 men were either killed or diſabled by the exploſion. This diſaſter ſtruck ſuch a terror amongſt thoſe who remained in the fort, that ſome hours after they ſet fire to the chambers with which they had undermined the fortifications, and blew up the greateſt part of the walls and cavaliers, and then marched away with great precipitation to Pondicherry: as ſoon as the Engliſh ſaw the exploſion, they marched up and took poſſeſſion of the ruins. Thus fortunately delivered, the army did not immediately proceed to Pondicherry, but remained five days longer at Ariancopang, employed in repairing the fort, in which it was determined to leave a garriſon; for it was apprehended, that during the ſiege a detachment of the enemy's troops might again take poſſeſſion of it, and from hence be enabled to intercept convoys, or harraſs the army.

The town of Pondicherry was ſituated about 70 yards from the ſeaſhore: its extent within the walls was a little more than a mile from north to ſouth, and about 1100 yards from eaſt to weſt: it was fortified

on

1748. on the three ſides to the land with a wall and rampart, flanked by eleven baſtions; and two half-baſtions were at the north and ſouth extremities neareſt the ſea: theſe works were ſurrounded by a ditch, and an imperfect glacis was thrown up in many parts before it. The eaſtern ſide was defended by ſeveral low batteries, capable of mounting 100 pieces of cannon, which commanded the road; and within the town was built a citadel, too ſmall to make a long defence. The greateſt part of the ground lying round the town was incloſed, at the diſtance of a mile from the walls, by a hedge of large aloes and other thorny plants peculiar to the country, intermixed with great numbers of coco-nut and palm trees, which all together formed a defence impenetrable to cavalry, and of very difficult paſſage to infantry: this incloſure began at the north, cloſe by the ſea-ſhore, and continued five miles and a half, deſcribing a large ſegment of a ſemi-circle, until it joined the river of Ariancopang to the ſouth, at about a mile and a half from the ſea-ſhore, and in this part the courſe of the river ſerved to compleat the line of defence. There were five roads leading from the town into the adjacent country, and at each of the openings in the hedge was built a redoubt mounted with cannon. It is probable that the hedge, at the ſame time that it was intended to be a defence againſt ſudden incurſions, marked the limits of the territory conceded by the prince of the country to the French, when they firſt eſtabliſhed themſelves at Pondicherry; and hence obtained the name of the Bound-hedge.

On the 25th of July the army marched from Ariancopang, and took poſſeſſion of the village of Oulagary, laying about two miles from the ſouth-weſt part of the town. From hence a detachment was ſent the ſame day to attack the north-weſt redoubt of the bound-hedge, which the enemy, after a little reſiſtance, abandoned, notwithſtanding it was capable of making a defence that would have coſt the Engliſh many lives, had they been obliged to ſtorm it. The garriſons in all the other redoubts were ſoon after withdrawn, and the Engliſh paſſed the bound-hedge without meeting any farther oppoſition.

Mr.

Mr. Boſcawen, by the advice of the engineers, determined to attack the town on the north-weſt ſide; and, to facilitate the communication between the fleet and the camp, ſtationed his ſhips to the North of Pondicherry. 1748.

On the 30th of Auguſt at night the Engliſh army opened ground, at the diſtance of 1500 yards from the walls: by this the officers, who planned the attack, ſhewed themſelves little ſkilled in their art; for it is the general practice in ſieges, to make the firſt parallel within 800 yards of the covered way. Before morning two trenches were flung up at the diſtance of 100 yards from one another, parallel to each other and to the face of the attack: the firſt trench outflanked the extremities of the other, and neither of them had banks at the ends to prevent the enemy in a ſally from enfilading them: within ten yards in front of the ſecond were ſeveral huts, which the working party had neglected to demoliſh in the night, and the fire from the town deterred the guard from venturing to level them in the day. One hundred men were poſted in this trench, and 300 in the other.

About one o' clock in the afternoon a body of 500 Europeans and 700 Sepoys ſallied from the town, and marching half way to the trenches, divided into two parties; of which the largeſt, conſiſting of 400 Europeans and 500 Sepoys, made a circuit in order to attack the firſt trench in flank, whilſt the leſſer party advanced to attack the ſecond in front. Paradis led the largeſt diviſion, which gave their fire at ſuch a diſtance as rendered it of no effect: the troops in the trench returned the fire; and the only ſhot which did execution fortunately killed Paradis: the death of their leader flung the whole party into confuſion, and they returned to the town in diſorder; and their fears increaſed as they retreated, inſomuch that they left the leſſer party fighting, without either ſending a detachment to ſupport them, or even a meſſenger to inform them that they were retreating.

The leſſer party had taken poſſeſſion of the huts in front of the ſecond trench, and kept up an irregular but conſtant fire upon it, and were ſo intirely engaged in their own attack, that they knew nothing of what had paſſed at the other trench. A ſhot mortally wounded captain Brown, who, fearing that the men might be diſcouraged at the ſight of

1748. their commander in agony, deſired to be removed, and was no ſooner carried off, than the whole platoon which were near him took flight. On this, enſign Greenville, the next officer, imprudently went to the other trench to aſk for ſuccours, and before he got there was followed by his platoon. There now remained only one platoon, of which two or three had been killed, and the reſt were on the point of running away; when their officer, enſign Clive, reproached them ſternly for their puſillanimity, and repreſented the honour they would gain by defending the trench, after it had been ſo ſhamefully abandoned by the reſt of the guard. All the company's troops had an affection for this young man, from obſerving the alacrity and preſence of mind which always accompanied him in danger; his platoon, animated by his exhortation, fired again with new courage and great vivacity upon the enemy, who now perceiving the ſmall number to which the defenders of the trench were reduced, reſolved to ſtorm it. They quitted the huts, and formed in front of them, and were ſcarcely got into order, when they received the whole fire of the Engliſh platoon, which was ſo well directed that it ſtruck down twenty men, and the reſt were in the inſtant ſo terrified by the ſhock of this extraordinary execution, that they ran back in diſorder to the huts, which ſheltered them until they were out of reach of the fire, and continued their retreat to the town in great confuſion. This party was compoſed of grenadiers, of whom 27 with an officer were killed. The loſs ſuſtained by the Engliſh was only eight private men, and captain Brown.

The Engliſh continued their approaches, but carried them on very ſlowly, from a want of experience in ſuch operations. Two batteries of three guns were raiſed within 1200 yards of the town, to check any future ſallies. When the army firſt opened ground, the bomb-ketch was ordered to bombard the citadel night and day: but in a very few days the enemy began to bombard her, and got her diſtance ſo exactly, that one of their ſhells ſtaved the boat aſtern, and another threw the water in upon her decks; after which ſhe kept out of the reach of the enemy's mortars in the day-time, and only bombarded in the night. Parties ſallied at ſeveral times, and attacked the detachments

which

which eſcorted the ſtores and cannon from the ſhips to the camp, and one day a detachment eſcorting two pieces of battering cannon was defeated, and the cannon taken: ſome troops were ſent immediately to recover them, who advancing along the ſide of a grove, without having reconnoitered, received ſo warm a fire from a party laying there in ambuſcade, that they retreated with precipitation to the camp, and the enemy carried the cannon in triumph into the town. 1748.

After much hard labour the trenches were advanced within 800 yards of the walls, when it was found impoſſible to carry them on any nearer; for a large moraſs extended itſelf before this part of the town, and the French had preſerved a back water, with which they overflowed not only the moraſs, but likewiſe all the ground laying between the trenches and the foot of the glacis. During the approaches, and the conſtruction of the batteries on the edge of the moraſs, the enemy kept up a conſtant fire on the working parties, by which many were killed.

Two batteries were finiſhed and began to fire on the 26th of September, one of eight, the other of four pieces of cannon, of 18 and 24 pounders: a bomb-battery of five large mortars and fifteen royals, and another of fifteen cohorns, were likewiſe erected. The French now opened ſeveral embraſures in the curtain, and began likewiſe to fire from two or three batteries on the creſt of the glacis, inſomuch that the fire of the beſieged was double that of the beſiegers. To leſſen this ſuperiority, by diverting the attention of the garriſon to other quarters, Mr. Boſcawen determined to batter the town from the ſea; and before the next morning all the ſhips of two tiers had warped within the diſtance of 1000 yards of the walls, the ſhallowneſs of water not permitting them to approach nearer: the cannonading was inceſſant, and terrible in appearance, but of no real effect; for the diſtance of the ſhips, and the motion of the ſea, hindered the ſhot from ſtriking ſucceſſively the ſame object. The French at firſt withdrew a great number of their artillery-men from the land ſide, and employed them in firing againſt the ſhips from the batteries which commanded the road; but perceiving the little damage that the town ſuſtained from the fire of the ſhips, they ſlackned their defence on that ſide, and renewed it on the land ſide with as much vigour as if no attack had been made from any other quarter.

1748. The cannonading from the ſhips continued until night, when Mr. Boſcawen, finding that they had expended a vaſt quantity of ammunition to no purpoſe, ordered them to move in the night out of the reach of cannon-ſhot; but the wind ſetting in from the ſea prevented them from executing this intention: remaining therefore in the ſame ſtations, they began early in the morning to cannonade the town again, from whence they were fired upon with more vivacity than the day before; but at noon the wind changing, the ſhips moved farther from the ſhore, and the firing ceaſed on both ſides. Only two perſons were killed on board the fleet, the one a common ſailor, the other captain Adams, commander of the Harwich, a 50 gun ſhip. The French gave out that the fire from the ſhips had, in the two days, done no other execution than that of killing a poor old Malabar woman in the ſtreet.

The fire from the batteries continued three days longer, during which that from the town increaſed, and diſmounted nine pieces of cannon. Very little impreſſion had been made on the defences, ſickneſs prevailed in the camp, the weather likewiſe began to change, and diſcovered that the rainy monſoon was ready to ſet in: a council of war was therefore ſummoned on the 30th of September, who, apprehenſive that the rains, which at their firſt ſetting in generally overflow the whole country, might render the removal of the cannon and heavy ſtores impracticable, and fearing likewiſe that the ſhips might be driven off the coaſt by hard gales of wind, unanimouſly determined to raiſe the ſiege without delay.

Five days were employed in ſhipping the cannon and heavy ſtores, deſtroying the batteries, and reimbarking the ſailors; and on the 6th of October the troops began to march to Fort St. David; but halted at Ariancopang, and blew up the fort: the rains were already ſet in, and rendered the roads very difficult to be paſſed. On a review of the ſtate of the army, it was found, that during the ſiege there had periſhed in action and by ſickneſs 757 ſoldiers, 43 artillery-men, and 265 ſeamen; in all 1065 Europeans: very few of the Sepoys were killed, for they had been only employed to guard the ſkirts of the camp, and had always ran away on the firſt approach of danger. The French garriſon conſiſted of 1800 Europeans, and 3000 Sepoys, of which they loſt 200 Europeans, and about 50 Sepoys.

Many

Many cauſes concurred to fruſtrate this attempt againſt Pondicherry. When the army marched from Fort St. David, there remained only fifty days before the ſetting in of the monſoon to carry on the ſiege, which time was barely ſufficient for the undertaking; and there was no abſolute neceſſity to reduce the fort of Ariancopang, for a party of 200 men ſtationed near it would have always kept in awe the garriſon, which conſiſted only of 100: now the reduction of this little fort, beſides cauſing the loſs of 150 men, together with two of the moſt experienced officers, and thereby diſcouraging the reſt, ſtopt the progreſs of the whole army eighteen days. When arrived before the town, Mr. Boſcawen, unexperienced in military operations by land, relied, in obedience to his inſtructions, on the opinion of the engineers, who made a very great blunder in carrying on the attacks againſt that part of the town to which an inſuperable moraſs prevented them from approaching nearer than 800 yards; and even had there been no moraſs, the ſituation of the camp to the weſtward would have been injudiciouſly choſen, ſince it ſubjected the tranſporting of the cannon and heavy ſtores to a difficult paſſage of two or three miles, which employed the labour of numbers of ſailors, and demanded frequent detachments of ſoldiers to eſcort and defend them from the ſallies of the enemy; and the ſoldiers and ſailors thus employed were taken off from the operations of the ſiege, which required nothing leſs than the ſervice of every European in the camp. The north-ſide was the part againſt which the attack ought to have been directed: for the ground in front of this ſide was ſound, and would have permitted the approaches to have been carried on to the foot of the glacis, without meeting with any natural impediments; and the camp extending behind the lines to the northward, would have effectually protected the cannon and ſtores, when landed, from the danger of ſallies, and at the ſame time have ſaved the labour and inconveniences of tranſporting them from a long diſtance; for they might have been landed at the camp itſelf. The reputation of ſuperior ſkill in the defence of fortified places, which the French nation had at this time eſtabliſhed in all parts of the world, was exaggerated in the opinion of the troops before Pondicherry, by a ſenſe of the errors committed by themſelves; and theſe errors fixed the diſpiriting impreſſion which the diſaſters at Ariancopang had made: 1748.

1748. made upon their minds, ſo that very few examples of gallant ſervice were exhibited during the ſiege. The artillery-men and officers knew their buſineſs, and always behaved with reſolution, and Mr. Boſcawen, on all occaſions of danger, exerted the ſame activity and courage which diſtinguiſhed his character in engagements at ſea; but theſe qualities did not compenſate his want of knowledge in the art of war. This knowledge is not incompatible with ſkill in the marine ſervice; and it is much to be lamented, that both together have not of late years been cultivated by the ſame officer; for there are very few inſtances, ſince the uſe of battering cannon, of a ſiege carried on by Europeans with more ignorance than this of Pondicherry.

The French ſang Te Deums, as ſoon as the ſiege was raiſed, and gave as many demonſtrations of joy, as if they had been relieved from the greateſt calamities of war. Mr. Dupleix ſent letters to all the princes of Coromandel, and even to the great Mogul himſelf, acquainting them, that he had repulſed the moſt formidable attack that had ever been made in India; and he received from them the higheſt compliments on his own proweſs, and on the military character of his nation: This indeed was now regarded throughout Indoſtan as greatly ſuperior to that of the Engliſh.

The END *of the* FIRST BOOK.

BOOK II.

THE ſquadron, ſoon after the raiſing of the ſiege of Pondicherry, left the coaſt to avoid the ſtormy monſoon: five ſhips went to Achin, and the reſt to Trincanomaly; but Mr. Boſcawen himſelf remained with the land-forces at Fort St. David. In November advices were received, that a ceſſation of arms between Great Britain and France had been proclaimed in the preceding April: but Mr. Boſcawen was, notwithſtanding, inſtructed to remain in India until he ſhould receive intelligence that the general peace was concluded. In the beginning of January 1749 the ſquadron returned to Fort St. David, and about the 1749.
ſame time Mr. Bouvet, with the ſame ſhips that had eluded Mr. Griffin, came again from Mauritius to Madraſs, where he landed a large ſum of money, together with 200 ſoldiers.

The ſword was ſheathed, and it depended on the agents of the two companies to re-aſſume in tranquillity their mercantile occupations: but the war had brought to Pondicherry and Fort St. David a number of troops greatly ſuperior to any which either of the two nations had hitherto aſſembled in India; and as if it was impoſſible that a military force, which feels itſelf capable of enterprizes, ſhould refrain from attempting them, the two ſettlements, no longer authorized to fight againſt each other, took the reſolution of employing their arms in the conteſts of the princes of the country: the Engliſh with great indiſcretion, the French with the utmoſt ambition.

An unfortunate prince, who about ſeven years before had been dethroned at Tanjore, came to Fort St. David, and implored the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh to reinſtate him, aſſerting with great confidence that he ſhould no ſooner appear in the kingdom, ſupported even by a moderate force, than his ſtandard would be joined by numbers, and his title acknowledged by thouſands. The ſucceſſion of the princes of his family had

1749. had been ſo complicated, that it was difficult to aſcertain to whom the crown rightfully belonged.

In the year 1680 the king of Tanjore, attacked and well-nigh overpowered by the king of Tritchanopoly, called the Morattoes to his aſſiſtance. The famous Sevajee, who at that time reigned over all the Morattoe nations, ſent his brother with a ſtrong army, which ſoon left the king of Tanjore nothing to fear from his enemy, but every thing from theſe freebooters; for they made out ſo large an account of expences, that all the riches in the kingdom would have been inſufficient to diſcharge what they demanded: under pretence therefore of collecting this money, they took poſſeſſion of the government, and ſhortly after the brother of Savajee declared himſelf king of Tanjore. He reigned ſix years, and left three ſons. The eldeſt, Sevajee, was ſucceeded by the next brother, Serbojee, and he by the third, Tuccojee. Each of the three brothers left children; and after three irregular ſucceſſions which took place amongſt theſe couſin-germans in leſs than ſeven years, Saujohee, who now appeared at Fort St. David, was depoſed, and his brother Pratop-ſing, born of one of the inferior wives of their father Serbojee, was placed on the throne, by the general concurrence of the principal men in the kingdom, which had ſuffered much from the weak adminiſtration of Saujohee. The Engliſh had certainly no right to interfere in his cauſe. But the offers he made of conceſſions to the company in the kingdom of Tanjore, the favourable account given of him by the interpreters who introduced him to the preſidency, and the belief too haſtily entertained of a falſe narration of his misfortune, induced the Engliſh to think they ſhould acquire as much honour as advantage by their efforts to reinſtate him in the throne. It was ſtipulated that Saujohee ſhould give the company the fort and territory of Devi-Cotah, and pay all the expences of the war, if it proved ſucceſsful.

The kingdom of Tanjore extends about 70 miles from north to ſouth, and about 60 from eaſt to weſt. The river Coleroon bounds it to the north: the ſea-coaſt, running nearly north and ſouth, forms the eaſtern boundary: the ſouthern is made by a part of the ſea-coaſt which runs eaſt and weſt, and by the country of Mirawa: to the weſt it is limited by the kingdom of Tritchanopoly and the country of Tondaman;

daman: and the capital of Tanjore, bearing the ſame name as the kingdom, lays about 20 miles weſt of Tritchanopoly. 1749.

The force appointed for the conqueſt of Tanjore conſiſted of 430 Europeans, and 1000 Sepoys, with four field pieces and four ſmall mortars: the battering cannon and proviſions for the troops were put on board of four ſhips, two of which were of the line. The army, accompanied by Saujohee, left Fort St. David in the latter end of March, and on the 13th of April encamped on the bank of the river Val-aru, which diſembogues itſelf at Portonovo. In the evening the northern monſoon changed, and the ſouthern ſet in with a hurricane, which laſted with ſuch violence until four o' clock the next morning, that the tents of the Engliſh camp were blown into rags, many of the draught bullocks and horſes were killed, and all the military ſtores were ſo much damaged, that the army was obliged to march to Portonovo to repair the detriment it had ſuſtained. There they were informed that the ſtorm had committed much greater ravages at ſea: two of the company's ſhips were ſtranded between Cuddalore and Fort St. David: the Apollo hoſpital-ſhip was loſt, with all her crew: the Pembroke, a 60 gun ſhip, which ſailed on the expedition, was wrecked, and only ſix of the crew ſaved: and the Namur of 74 guns, in which admiral Boſcawen hoiſted his flag, and which was the fineſt ſhip of her ſize belonging to the navy of England, periſhed, with 750 men. Fortunately moſt of the other ſhips were either at Trincanomaly, or in parts of the coaſt to which the greateſt violence of the hurricane did not extend.

The army having repaired its damages, left Portonovo, and marching by the great pagoda of Chilambaram, arrived at the bank of the northern arm of the Coleroon. Here captain Cope, who commanded, encamped and intrenched, reſolving to learn the ſtate of affairs on the oppoſite ſhore before he proceeded any farther. The intelligence he received was very different from what he expected: no perſons of any rank offered to declare for Saujohee, and not a ſingle ſquadron appeared ready to join him: on the contrary, a great number of troops belonging to the king of Tanjore appeared moving up and down the oppoſite bank, and ſeemed determined to diſpute the paſſage of the river. Thus diſappointed, and ignorant of the enemy's ſtrength as well as of the na-

1749. ture of the country, captain Cope did not think his force ſufficient to proſecute the enterprize, and waited until he was reinforced from Fort St. David with 100 Europeans and 500 Sepoys: he then croſſed the river, which, although a mile broad, was fordable, and, contrary to his expectation, the army met with little reſiſtance from the enemy whilſt they were paſſing it; but difficulties increaſed as they advanced: the road in which they attempted to march led through a thick wood, and the enemy from behind the buſhes began to annoy them greatly with arrows, and the fire of their matchlocks; whilſt large bodies of horſe and foot appeared in the circumjacent plains, moving in the rear and on the flanks. This being the firſt expedition in which the Engliſh troops were engaged againſt the forces of an Indian prince, the ſoldiers were ſtruck with no ſmall degree of fear, on comparing the ſuperior numbers of the enemy with their own; but the artillery-men preſerved their reſolution, and fired with ſo much ſpirit and aim, that the enemy kept at a diſtance, and the troops recovering from their fright, moved back, and gained the bank of the river without confuſion. Here the army drew up, the field-pieces ſecuring the flanks, and the river the rear. A council of war was held to deliberate whether they ſhould proceed, or wait for more favourable advices than thoſe hitherto received out of the Tanjore country; but whilſt the council were ſitting, a meſſenger arrived with poſitive orders from Mr. Boſcawen to continue the march, and attack the Fort of Devi-Cotah at all events. Some of the ſoldiers diſcovered a road leading along the bank of the river towards the ſea-coaſt; and the army began to march this way, although very little of it had been reconnoitred: it led through a much more open country than the other, and the river defended the troops from being ſurrounded. This lucky diſcovery ſaved them from deſtruction; for it was afterwards found, that by perſiſting in the firſt road, they would, from the nature of the country, have been involved in inextricable difficulties, into which the Tanjorines had hoped to intice them, by making no reſiſtance at the paſſage of the river. The enemy moved along at ſome diſtance, as they ſaw the Engliſh proceed; and their ſquadrons ſometimes threatned to attack, but always retired as ſoon as the field-pieces began to fire. After a march of ten miles the troops

troops halted, late in the evening, a mile to the eaſtward of Devi-Cotah: here they expected to ſee the ſhips, or at leaſt to receive ſome intelligence of them; but were diſappointed: for not a man of the country ventured to come near the camp; and the lowneſs of the ground, together with the thick woods that covered it, prevented the ſhips from being diſcovered, although they were at anchor near the mouth of the river, at no greater diſtance than four miles from the camp. 1749.

The army, relying on the ſhips, had brought no more proviſions than were neceſſary for the conſumption of three days, and were deterred, by the numbers of the enemy, from ſending detachments to procure any; and at the ſame time they were without battering cannon. Under theſe inconveniences there appeared no means of reducing the fort, excepting by a ſudden aſſault, and the walls were too high to be eaſily eſcaladed. Lieutenant Clive, the ſame officer who had defended the trench at the ſiege of Pondicherry, propoſed to advance the field-pieces in the night, and batter down the gates. This indeed was the only practicable method of attack; but being deemed too deſperate to be attempted, it was determined to endeavour to terrify the enemy by bombarding the place with cohorns. Shells were thrown until the morning, when the fire ceaſed until the next night: and before the next morning all the ſhells were expended, without having done any damage to the fort, or made any impreſſion on the minds of the garriſon. It was therefore reſolved to retreat without delay.

The army marched back by the ſame road in which they had advanced. During the firſt mile the country was covered with woods, from which the enemy galled the flank of the line, not only with muſquetry, but likewiſe with ſome pieces of heavy artillery, which they had carried into the thickets before the Engliſh decamped; and ſome platoons of Europeans were detached to diſlodge them. The thickets extended to the bank of a rivulet which the troops had croſſed in the march to Devi-Cotah, during the retreat of the tide: the rivulet was at that time fordable, and no one had examined it ſufficiently to form an idea of the depth of the channel, which was now filled with water by the riſing of the tide, and the ſtream ran very rapidly. The Cooleys, who carried the leſs bulky parts of the baggage, marched before the troops, and as

1749. ſoon as they came to the bank of the rivulet, were fired upon with great vivacity from behind the thickets. Timorous, as are all the lower caſts of Indians, they plunged into the ſtream, which was ſeven or eight feet deep, and preſſing upon one another with outcries and confuſion, loſt by their fears the ſtrength neceſſary to ſave themſelves, and in leſs than a quarter of an hour 400 of the poor wretches were drowned. The troops, ſpectators of this diſaſter, halted; and fired to diſlodge the enemy, until the tide had ebbed ſufficiently to render the rivulet fordable, by which time they were driven out of muſket-ſhot, and the army paſſed the rivulet without interruption; and continuing their retreat unmoleſted, arrived at Chilambaram late at night, much fatigued with the ſkirmiſhes they had ſuſtained, and with a march of 15 miles: the next day they returned to Fort St. David.

The intelligence gained during the expedition, as well by the government of Fort St. David, as by the officers who had been in the country of Tanjore, convinced every one that the cauſe of Saujohee was deſtitute of abettors amongſt his countrymen. The Engliſh notwithſtanding determined to continue the war; but this reſolution did not now proceed ſo much from the intention of reſtoring Saujohee, as from the deſire of wiping out, by ſome ſucceſs, the reproach of having retreated before the arms of an Indian prince, and from the views of making ſome acquiſitions that might compenſate the expences which had already been incurred. The fort of Devi-Cotah is ſituated in a populous country, in which manufactures of linnen proper for the company's trade are fabricated; and the territory in its neighbourhood is the moſt fertile part of the coaſt of Coromandel. On this coaſt, from Maſulipatnam to Cape Comorin, there is no port capable of receiving a ſhip of 300 tons burden; which defect ſubjects the navigation of theſe parts to great riſques at particular ſeaſons. The mouth of the river Coleroon, near Devi-Cotah, is indeed generally obſtructed by ſands, but the channel within the bar is deep enough to receive ſhips of the largeſt burden; and it was thought that the bar itſelf might with ſome labour and expence be removed: if this ſhould be effected, the coaſt of Coromandel would be no longer without a harbour, and the greateſt advantages would accrue to the European nation which ſhould obtain the excluſive poſſeſſion

of

of it. It was therefore determined to make the reduction of Devi-Cotah the principal object of the new expedition, which it was thought would be amply compenſated by gaining poſſeſſion of this place, even if no farther advantages accrued from the war. 1749.

The whole body of the company's troops, amounting with the artillery-men to 800 Europeans, together with 1500 Sepoys, were ordered on the expedition, under the command of major Lawrence. From the difficulties already experienced in approaching Devi-Cotah by land, it was determined that the army ſhould now proceed by ſea: the Europeans, with the artillery and baggage, were embarked on board ſix ſhips, three of the line and three belonging to the company, and the Sepoys accompanied the ſhips in large boats, uſed by the people of Coromandel to carry on their traffick along the coaſt. The veſſels arrived at the ſame mouth of the Coleroon where the ſhips of the former expedition had anchored; and the troops and ſtores paſſed in boats up the arm of the river which led to Devi-Cotah, and were landed on the oppoſite ſhore, from which it was determined to batter the fort, becauſe the ground on the other ſide was marſhy and covered with woods, and the king of Tanjore's army was encamped under the walls.

The fort was about a mile in circumference, having ſix unequal ſides; and the walls were about 18 feet high, built of ſtone, the maſonry of which was in moſt parts broad enough to form a rampart, without any addition of earth: and were flanked at unequal diſtances by projecting towers, ſome of which were circular, and others ſquare. The Engliſh fired acroſs the river obliquely upon the eaſtern ſide of the fort from four 24 pounders, which in three days made a practicable breach. The enemy did not return the fire, nor attempt to repair the breach, but employed themſelves in carrying on an intrenchment from the bank of the river acroſs the ſide of the fort which the Engliſh attacked.

The paſſage of the troops over the river was rendered dangerous, both by the rapidity of the ſtream, and by the numbers who had taken poſſeſſion of the thickets which covered the oppoſite ſhore. John Moor, a carpenter belonging to one of the men of war, offered his ſervice, and made a ſtage capable of receiving 400 men, which was launched at ſome diſtance below the battery, and towed up to it againſt the ſtream.

The

1749. The raft could only be moved acroſs the river by ropes, fixed with pullies on the oppoſite bank; but the ſtations of the enemy rendered this a very hazardous enterprize: the ſame carpenter who had made the raft, offered to execute this ſervice likewiſe, and in the middle of a very dark night ſwam over the river, carrying the end of a rope with him, which he faſtened to the root of a large tree within a few yards of one of the enemy's advanced guards, by whom he was not diſcovered.

The rope was ſunk in the water, that the enemy might not perceive it; and the next day, at two in the afternoon, the firſt detachment of 400 Europeans, with three field pieces, embarked upon the raft; at the ſame time the four pieces of battering cannon, with ſix field pieces, began to fire with great vivacity upon the oppoſite thickets, to deter the Tanjorines from approaching the bank near enough to diſcover the rope. They were ſo much ſurprized at this new and unexpected manner of approach, that, fortunately, none of them gueſſed the means by which it was performed. The walls and towers of the fort were manned with multitudes, who, as well as thoſe under cover of the thickets, fired irregularly, but without intermiſſion, from their matchlocks; but the detachment, although much galled, refrained from returning the fire, leſt the buſtle of handling their arms ſhould overſet the raft, which in a quarter of an hour gained the ſhore. The troops advanced immediately to diſlodge the Tanjorines poſted in the thickets, who retreated as ſoon as they were fired upon, and took ſhelter either within the fort, or behind the projections of the towers. The raft was ſent back, and in the ſpace of two hours made ſeveral paſſages, during which the enemy kept up a continual fire, both on the troops that were landed, and on thoſe on the raft, and killed 30 Europeans and 50 Sepoys before the whole army had paſſed the river.

Major Lawrence determined to ſtorm the breach without delay. The entrenchment which the Tanjorines intended to throw up before it, was left unfiniſhed; for the Cooleys quitted the work as ſoon as it was advanced ſo far as to place them in the line of the ſhot battering the walls. The part which was finiſhed was nevertheleſs of ſome ſervice, for it commanded the ground over which the Engliſh troops were obliged to march to the attack, and likewiſe flanked the breach itſelf. About fifty

yards

yards in front of the entrenchment ran a deep and miry rivulet, which extended quite acroſs the iſland on which Devi-Cotah is ſituated. 1749.

Lieutenant Clive offered his ſervice to major Lawrence to lead the attack; and the major, who had remarked the riſing military genius of this officer, very readily gave him the poſt of honour he requeſted. A platoon of 34 Europeans, with 700 Sepoys, were appointed for this ſervice, who were to be ſupported by the whole army as ſoon as the entrenchment ſhould be carried. The Europeans, marching at the head of the Sepoys, croſſed the rivulet with difficulty, and four of them were killed by the fire from the fort before they gained the oppoſite bank. As ſoon as a part of the Sepoys had paſſed likewiſe, lieutenant Clive advanced briſkly with the Europeans, intending to attack the entrenchment in flank at that end where the Cooleys had diſcontinued the work. The Sepoys who had paſſed the rivulet, inſtead of following cloſely, as they were ordered, remained at the bank, waiting until they were joined by greater numbers. The enemy perceived this neglect, which left the rear of the Europeans expoſed: a number of horſe were concealed along the ſouth ſide of the fort, between the projections of the towers; the neareſt of which was not more than forty yards from that part of the entrenchment which lieutenant Clive was preparing to attack. Juſt as his men were preſenting their muſkets to fire, a party of horſe ruſhed ſword in hand from behind the tower, and by a rapid evolution, which manifeſted the excellency both of the horſes and the riders, fell on the rear of the platoon with ſo much impetuoſity, that the men had no time to face about and defend themſelves, and in an inſtant 26 of the platoon were cut to pieces. A horſeman had his ſword uplifted to ſtrike at lieutenant Clive, who eſcaped the blow by ſtepping on one ſide whilſt the horſe paſſed him; he then ran towards the Sepoys, whom he had the good fortune to join, being one of four who were all that eſcaped from this ſlaughter. He found the Sepoys drawn up in order, but they had not advanced a ſtep to ſupport the platoon. The Tanjorine horſe, ſatisfied with their ſucceſs, did not proſecute their advantage by attacking the Sepoys, but returned to the ſtations from whence they had made the onſet.

Major

1749. Major Lawrence, on this diſaſter, determined to attack the trench with all the Europeans, who now croſſed the rivulet, and advanced in a compact body, with a platoon of grenadiers at their head. The enemy kept up an irregular fire until the grenadiers came to the trench, and then they took flight along the ſouthern ſide of the fort: The Engliſh troops immediately moved up to the breach, when the Tanjorine horſe ſallied again from behind the tower; and were ſuffered to approach within fourteen yards before the firſt platoon gave its fire, which was ſo well directed that it ſtruck down fourteen horſemen: this execution flung the reſt into ſuch confuſion that they immediately fled back, and the troops mounting the breach, found it abandoned by the garriſon, whom they diſcovered hurrying from all quarters of the fort to make their eſcape out of the oppoſite gateway: at the ſame time all the Tanjorine horſe, amounting to 10,000, quitted their ſtations near the fort, and retreated to the weſtward.

Some of the officers examining the different buildings of the fort, found in one of the chambers a Tanjorine laying on the ground deſperately wounded, whom, incapable of moving without aſſiſtance, the garriſon in their precipitate flight had neglected to carry off, altho' he was an officer of rank, and an Indian of a very high caſt. He was taken care of, but with a ſullen obſtinacy refuſed every kind of aſſiſtance, and would not ſubmit to the neceſſary operations, until he found that the ſurgeon intended to uſe force. He was no ſooner left alone than he ſtripped off the bandages, and attempted to put an end to his life, by tearing open his wounds: ſome perſons were therefore appointed to watch him continually, and he was removed into a thatched hut in a diſtant part of the fort, that his reſt might not be diſturbed by the buſineſs neceſſary to be carried on near the chamber where he was firſt diſcovered. Finding himſelf conſtantly watched, he behaved for three days with ſo much compoſure, that they, to whoſe care he was entruſted, thought he was reconciled to life, and relaxing their attention, left him in the night, as they imagined, aſleep; but they were no ſooner got to ſome diſtance, than the Tanjorine crept to the corner of the hut, where a lamp was burning, and with it ſet fire to the thatch, which, in that dry ſeaſon of the year, caught the blaze ſo fiercely, that he was ſuffocated before it could

could be extinguiſhed. This Indian fell a martyr to his ideas of the impurity he had contracted by ſuffering Europeans to adminiſter to his wants. 1749.

The troops were employed for a few days in repairing the breach, and in other works neceſſary to put the fort in a good ſtate of defence; after which major Lawrence detached a party of 100 Europeans, with 300 Sepoys, to take poſſeſſion of the pagoda of Achevaram, laying five miles to the ſouth-weſt of Devi-Cotah. All the pagoda's on the coaſt of Coromandel are built on the ſame general plan: a large area, which is commonly a ſquare, is incloſed by a wall of 15 or 20 feet high, and in the middle of the area are the temples, which, as if it was intended that they ſhould be concealed from public view, are never raiſed above the height of the ſurrounding wall. In the middle of one or more of the ſides of this wall is a gateway, over which is built a high tower, not deſigned as a defence to the pagoda, but as an hiſtorical monument of the gods to whom it is dedicated; for the four faces of the tower are crouded with ſculptures, repreſenting the attributes and adventures of theſe divinities. The pagoda of Achevaram is a ſquare of which each of the ſides extends about 300 yards: it was ſurrendered to the Engliſh detachment on the firſt ſummons by the Bramins, who intreated them not to enter the more ſacred places: but the Tanjorine army no ſooner heard that the Engliſh had got poſſeſſion of it, than their horror of the pollutions to which their temple was expoſed, inſpired them with a reſolution, which neither their attachment to their prince, nor their notions of military honour, would have produced. A party of 5000 men marched from the camp, and as ſoon as it was night attacked the pagoda; ſome with ladders attempting to mount the walls, whilſt others endeavoured to burn down the gate, by piling up againſt it large bundles of ſtraw mixed with other combuſtible matters. The Engliſh, knowing they ſhould all be put to the ſword, if the Tanjorines retook the place, defended themſelves vigorouſly: ſome were employed in overſetting the ladders, whilſt others fired upon thoſe who attempted to mount them. The guard who defended the gate opened the wicket, firing through it and puſhing down the bundles of ſtraw with their halberts: the enemy ſtill perſiſted to bring more ſtraw, and continued their attacks until break of day,

1749. when they retreated, having loſt near 300 men: only five or ſix of the defenders were killed. The next day major Lawrence marched with the greateſt part of the army to captain Cope's aſſiſtance, and the Tanjorines made no farther attempts.

By this time admiral Boſcawen and the government of Fort St. David had ſufficient reaſon to believe, that any future undertaking againſt the kingdom of Tanjore would be attended with great difficulties. At the ſame time the king made propoſals of accommodation. The Engliſh ſtipulated that the fort of Devi-Cotah, with as much land adjoining to it as would produce the annual income of 9000 pagoda's, ſhould be ceded to the Eaſt India company for ever: that the king of Tanjore ſhould reimburſe the expences of the war; and that he ſhould allow Saujohee a penſion of 4000 rupees.; they obliging themſelves to be anſwerable for his perſon, as likewiſe that he ſhould never give any more diſturbance to the kingdom. The king of Tanjore acceded without heſitation to theſe conditions; but his compliance did not proceed ſo much from his dread of the Engliſh arms, as from his ſenſe of the danger with which his kingdom was threatened, in conſequence of events which happened a few days before in the Carnatic, and which had ſtruck the whole coaſt of Coromandel with conſternation.

Chunda-ſaheb, made priſoner by the Marattoes, when they took the city of Tritchanopoly in 1741, was eſteemed by them a prize of ſo much importance, that they not only kept him under the ſtricteſt confinement, but rejected all the offers he made for his ranſom, as much inferior to what they imagined his wealth enabled him to pay. The richeſt prince in Indoſtan never heſitates to plead poverty whenever money is to be paid; and Chunda-ſaheb, either unable or unwilling to ſatisfy their exorbitant demands, remained in his confinement, correſponding for ſix years with his friends in different provinces, and ſuggeſting to them the means of inducing the Morattoes to ſet him at liberty for a moderate ſum.

The chiefs who were related to the former ſucceſſion of Nabobs, which ended by the aſſaſſination of the young Seid Mahomed, retained their averſion to the reign of An'war-adean Khan; but they ſaw no one amongſt themſelves in the Carnatic endowed with ſufficient power and

reputation to attempt the recovery of the government into their own family. There exiſted indeed at Vandevaſh a brother of Seid Mahomed, born after the death of their father, the Nabob Subder-ally Khan; but the infancy of this prince rendered him unfit to appear at the head of a confederacy: And altho' Mortiz'-ally Khan, the governor of Velore, was a near relation to the former Nabobs, and poſſeſſed a large domain with great treaſures, yet his extreme puſillanimity rendered him incapable of heading a dangerous enterprize, and the knowledge of his treacherous diſpoſition deſtroyed all confidence in the engagements he might enter into. Of the reſt, none had great reputation as generals, nor great power as princes; but, collected under a proper head, their ſtrength might become formidable. 1749.

Chunda-ſaheb had made his way to the higheſt offices of the government by his ſword, and was eſteemed the ableſt ſoldier that had of late years appeared in the Carnatic. His contempt of the ſordid means by which moſt of the Indian princes amaſs treaſures, had gained him the affections of the whole province; and an excellent underſtanding contributed to make his character univerſally revered. The reſt of the chiefs therefore concurred in regarding him as the fitteſt perſon to enter into competition with An'-war-adean Khan for the Nabobſhip; but this teſtimony of their deference for ſome time only ſerved to rivet his fetters more ſtrongly; for the Morattoes increaſed their demands in proportion as they found the character of their priſoner riſing in importance.

The wife and ſon of Chunda-ſaheb had remained at Pondicherry from the time that he was carried away by the Morattoes; and the year after that event Mr. Dupleix arrived there, appointed governor-general of the French nation in India. He treated the family of Chunda-ſaheb, under his protection, with great reſpect; and by a frequent intercourſe with the wife, very ſoon learnt the ſtate of her huſband's affairs, and the diſpoſitions of his relations in the province. His ſagacity diſtinguiſhed, in theſe latent principles of future convulſions, a poſſibility of aggrandizing his nation in India, where many cauſes concurred to prevent their eſtabliſhments from becoming ſo eminently advantageous as he was ambitious of rendering them.

The Engliſh, eſtabliſhed in Indoſtan many years before the French

1749. had made any ſettlements in the country, had confirmed in the natives a prepoſſeſſion in their favour, by the punctuality of their dealings, the goodneſs of the commodities they imported, and, above all, by the great extent of their trade; and this ſuperiority perpetually interrupted the progreſs of the French commerce. At the ſame time the affairs of all the European colonies were controuled by the Mogul government almoſt as much as thoſe of the natives themſelves, who are ſubject to the moſt deſpotic ſway; for their trade was liable to the interruption of every great and petty officer through whoſe diſtrict or department it paſſed; and in Bengal, where Mr. Dupleix had reſided for a long time, there never paſſed a year in which the Nabob did not extort large ſums of money from each of the European ſettlements: garriſons were maintained, and other military expences incurred, which greatly diminiſhed the profits of the trade; but ſuch was the high opinion of the military ſtrength of the Indian governments, that the European troops were never employed in oppoſition to the will of the prince of the country. At the ſame time all the manufactures of India proper for the markets of Europe had, from a long ſucceſſion of importations of ſilver, riſen ſo much in price, and diminiſhed ſo much in the goodneſs of the fabrick, that they afforded much leſs profit than in former times. The concurrence of theſe diſadvantages convinced Mr. Dupleix that the trade of Indoſtan was no longer worth the attention of France, nor indeed of any other nation in Europe. But diſcovering the unmilitary character of the natives, and the perpetual diſſentions of their rulers, he was led to imagine, that by joining ſome of theſe competitors he might gain by conqueſt more advantages than any other European nation had hitherto derived from trade. He therefore determined to proſecute this plan, by giving aſſiſtance to Chunda-ſaheb.

Theſe ideas probably dictated thoſe impediments which he flung in the way of Mr. de la Bourdonnais's operations, to prevent him from employing his troops, after the capture of Madraſs, in other parts of India; for at that time M. Dupleix held a conſtant correſpondence with Chunda-ſaheb in his impriſonment, and they were then concerting the means of accompliſhing their mutual intereſts. The meaſure neceſſary to be firſt carried into execution, was the releaſe of Chunda-ſaheb; and, Mr. Dupleix guaranteeing the engagement, the Morattoes were at laſt

ſatisfied

satisfied with 700,000 rupees, and consented to furnish him with 3000 of their own troops. 1749.

With this force, and the spirit of an adventurer, he left Sattarah in the beginning of the year 1748, intending to make conquests wherever the opportunity presented, until he should acquire, by contributions, the treasures necessary to maintain an army sufficient to attack the province of Arcot. He arrived, during the siege of Pondicherry, on the western confines of the Carnatic, and found two Rajas at war: he sided with one of them, who, betrayed by some of his officers, was totally defeated in a general battle, in which it is said that Chunda-saheb himself was taken prisoner, but that he was immediately released on producing a declaration from the king of the Morattoes, which enjoined all princes whomsoever to respect his person, on pain of incurring the resentment of the whole Morattoe nation. The greatest part of Chunda-saheb's troops were dispersed after this defeat, and he was left with only 300 men, when he received an invitation from the Raja of Chitterdourg, to come to his assistance, and take the command of his army against the Raja of Bedrour. The territories of these two princes lay near the eastern confines of the country of Canara, which extends along the coast of Malabar between the rivers Alega and Cangerecora. Disasters could not depress the spirit of Chunda-saheb; he marched away, with the handful of men he commanded, and arrived just as the two armies were ready to engage. In this battle his courage and skill were so well seconded by the troops of Chitterdourg, that he obtained a complete victory: three thousand of the enemy's horse, after the defeat, offered their service to him, whom he took into his pay, and likewise 2500 of the troops of his ally: so that he now saw himself at the head of 6000 men: but this force being still insufficient to attempt the conquest of the Carnatic, he found resources in the consequences of other events, which had lately happened at Delhi, and in the government of the soubahship of the southern provinces.

The Great Mogul, Mahomed Schah, who had suffered in 1739 the humiliation of laying his crown at the feet of Thamas Kouli Khan, by whom he was again reinstated in the monarchy of Indostan, continued to govern the empire with so trembling a hand, that the principal officers

of

1749. of his court acted in their ſeveral departments without controul, and became a terror to their ſovereign. In the beginning of the year 1748, the Pitans, from the countries north of Lahore, advanced towards Delhi with a very numerous army. The Mogul's troops, headed by his ſon Ahmed Schah, marched againſt them; and during their abſence, the Vizir, with ſeveral Omrahs, took poſſeſſion of the palace, and murdered Mahomed Schah. His ſon returned victorious over the Pitans, and affected to abdicate his right to the throne, until he had got the principal perſons who had conſpired againſt his father into his power: he then cauſed them to be put to death, and aſcended the throne with the appearance of more reſolution than had been exerted by any of his predeceſſors ſince the death of the great Aurengzeb.

Ahmed Schah, conſidering the independance of Nizam al muluck as the principal ſource of the enormities practiſed by the Omrahs at Delhi, who were in conſtant correſpondence with this prince, endeavoured to induce him to come to court, where it is probable the ſame fate as the conſpirators had ſuffered was prepared for him. The Mogul's ſollicitations, and even his injunctions, could not prevail on the crafty Soubah to quit his province; but it is ſaid, that they created ſo much uneaſineſs in his mind, that his end, already approaching with extreme old age, was haſtened by his apprehenſions of the unexpected dangers to which his latter days were expoſed. It was believed in the provinces of his government, that he had poiſoned himſelf: this report ſhews the readineſs with which the people of Indoſtan aſcribe the deaths of their princes to ſiniſter cauſes; for Nizam al muluck was 104 years old at the time of his death, which happened in 1748, a few months after the acceſſion of the Mogul Ahmed Schah.

He left five ſons: the eldeſt, Ghazi-o'-din Khan, held the poſt of captain-general of the empire at Delhi: the ſecond, Nazir-jing, had once fled from his father's court, and appeared in arms againſt him. The father took the field; and when the two armies were near each other, confined himſelf to his tent ſo ſtrictly, that by firſt making his own army believe he was reduced to the point of death by ſickneſs, the report was likewiſe believed in the camp of Nazir-jing, and by Nazir-jing himſelf, to whom meſſengers were continually ſent with pathetic invitations

tions from his father, deſiring to embrace him before he died. The 1749.
ſtratagem was ſo well conducted, that Nazir-jing at laſt determined to pay the viſit, and no ſooner entered Nizam al muluck's tent than he was arreſted, and put in irons, and accompanied his father under this reſtraint during ſeveral months, until Nizam al muluck being perſuaded of his contrition, accepted of his ſubmiſſions, and ſet him at liberty; after which he was not guilty of any diſobedience. The other three ſons had not diſtinguiſhed themſelves either for good or evil, but had always remained conſtant attendants at their father's court.

The great men in Indoſtan bear great affection to their children during their infancy; but as ſoon as theſe arrive at the age of emancipation, the perpetual intrigues of an Indian court render them, from being a conſolation to their parents, the objects of their miſtruſt: for there are never wanting thoſe who endeavour to engage them in parties, and even in plots: from hence it often happens, that a prince, in his latter days, lives without affection to his own ſons, and gives every kind of paternal preference to his grandchildren; and this recurs ſo frequently to obſervation, that one of the oriental poets has ſaid, "that the parents have, during the life of their ſons, ſuch overweening affection for their grandchildren, becauſe they ſee in them the enemies of their enemies." Amongſt the grandſons of Nizam al muluck was one born of his favourite daughter. This young man, called Hidayet mohy-o-dean, he had always kept near his perſon, and cheriſhed with great affection, inſomuch that, immediately after his death, a report prevailed, that he had in his will not only appointed this grandſon to inherit the greateſt part of his treaſures, but had likewiſe named him his ſucceſſor in the government of the ſouthern provinces. It is very difficult to aſcertain the authenticity of any of the written acts aſcribed to the princes of Indoſtan, for uſing a ſeal as their ſignature, the impreſſion is eaſily counterfeited; and this, as well as other methods of forgery, are commonly practiſed without ſcruple, whenever it is thought expedient to have recourſe to them: ſo that we cannot determine whether the report of the bequeſt made by Nizam al muluck to his grandſon was well grounded, or without foundation: it is certain, that it was generally believed. As a feudatory to the Mogul empire, Nizam al muluck

1749. muluck had no right to bequeath even his treaſures, much leſs his ſovereignty; but it is now many years that the fundamental regulations of the empire have been infringed with impunity by the governors of the provinces of Indoſtan.

Nazir-jing had for ſome time commanded his father's army, and availed himſelf of the power derived from his offices to oppoſe the pretenſions of his nephew Hidayet mohy-o-dean. He began by ſeizing Nizam almuluck's treaſures, and with theſe prepared to keep poſſeſſion of the ſovereignty: he pretended, that his father had named his eldeſt ſon Ghazi-o'-din Khan to be his heir: and that Ghazi-o'-din Khan preferring the employment he held at the court of Delhi, had ceded to him the ſoubahſhip of the ſouthern provinces: and that this ſovereignty was confirmed to him from the throne.

Amongſt other inſtances of the contempt with which the majeſty of the emperor is treated, the governors of provinces have of late years not only counterfeited, without heſitation, letters, orders and patents, from the court, but have even hired men to act the part of officers inveſted by the Great Mogul with the power of conferring with them on the affairs of their government. Theſe mock delegates are received with great pomp in the capital: the vice-roy or Nabob humbles himſelf before the pretended repreſentative, who delivers in public his credentials, and the fictitious orders he has been inſtructed to enforce. Theſe meaſures are practiſed to appeaſe the minds of the people, who ſtill retain ſo much reverence to the blood of Tamerlane, that a viceroy always thinks it neceſſary to create an opinion amongſt them that he is a favourite with the emperor, even when he is in arms againſt his authority. Both Nazir-jing and Hidayet mohy-o-dean exhibited patents from the Mogul, and produced delegates from Delhi. Hidayet mohy-o-dean gave out that the emperor, on appointing him to ſucceed to his grandfather's eſtates, had dignified him with the name of Murzafa-jing, or The Invincible; by which he was afterwards diſtinguiſhed. But the wealth of which Nazir-jing had taken poſſeſſion enabled him to keep his father's army in pay; and this was ſo numerous, that the forces which Murzafa-jing had collected were not ſufficient to oppoſe him with any probability of ſucceſs. This princd therefore kept the field in the countries

countries weſt of Gol-kondah, with an army of 25,000 men, waiting for ſome lucky event that might enable him to attack his uncle with more probability of ſucceſs. 1749.

Chunda-ſaheb, ſoon after his ſucceſs at Chitterdourg, heard of the ſituation of Murzafa-jing's affairs, and regarding him as a prince, who, like himſelf, from the ſimilarity of their fortunes, was obliged to try the chance of bold and deſperate enterprizes, he determined to join Murzafa-jing, and offer him the ſervice of his ſword: his military reputation cauſed him to be received with open arms, and the troops which he brought with him were taken into Murzafa-jing's pay. Chunda-ſaheb highly acknowledged his right to the ſoubaſhip of the ſouthern provinces, and ſoon gained his confidence by the zeal he expreſſed for his cauſe: he then explained his own pretenſions to the government of the Carnatic, and eaſily prevailed on his new lord to confirm his titles by letters patent, appointing him to the nabobſhip of Arcot; but the obtaining of this favour was not the only proof of the great aſcendance which he had acquired over the young prince's mind. He repreſented that the countries near Gol-kondah were too much awed by the terror of Nazir-jing's army to declare in Murzafa-jing's favour, until he could collect a much greater force than that which accompanied him at preſent; and that the ſame dread would be a perpetual obſtacle to the augmentation of his army in the countries where he now kept the field; but that his force was fully ſufficient for the conqueſt of the Carnatic againſt his own rival An'war-adean Khan; that this conqueſt, by putting them in poſſeſſion of the extenſive territories which lay between Arcot and Cape Comorin, would furniſh ſuch reſources both of men and money, as might enable him to return and attack Nazir-jing with equal force. Chunda-ſaheb then offered himſelf as the companion and conductor of Murzafa-jing until this hardy enterprize ſhould be accompliſhed, or, if fortune frowned, until they ſhould both periſh in the attempt. The romantic caſt of this project could not fail of making the ſtrongeſt impreſſion on the mind of a young prince naturally brave, and ambitious of acquiring a ſovereignty. Murzafa-jing now looked upon Chunda-ſaheb as his guardian angel, and agreed implicitly to follow all his views.

1749. Mr. Dupleix very ſoon received intelligence of theſe reſolutions, and was invited to take part in the project, with aſſurances of receiving conſiderable advantages for himſelf and the French Eaſt India company, if it ſucceeded. Nothing could be more conformable to his views than ſuch an opportunity of aggrandizing at once his own reputation and the intereſts of his nation in India. As ſoon as he heard that Murzafa-jing's army approached the confines of the Carnatic, he ordered 400 Europeans and 2000 Sepoys to march and join them. This body was commanded by Mr. d'Auteuil, and accompanied by Raza-ſaheb, the ſon of Chunda-ſaheb, who had reſided at Pondicherry during the whole time of his father's impriſonment.

An'war-adean Khan, the Nabob of Arcot, from his acceſſion after the murder of Seid Mahomed, had governed the Carnatic without receiving any diſturbance from inteſtine commotions, and very little from foreign hoſtilities; for all the military operations of his reign had conſiſted in the reduction of certain Polygars, who, from territories confining on the Carnatic, had made ſome predatory incurſions into the province. But his attention had been conſtantly fixed on the perſon of Chunda-ſaheb: he kept emiſſaries at Sattarah, to obſerve him during his confinement, which it is probable he protracted by bribing the Morattoes. As ſoon as Chunda-ſaheb was ſet at liberty, the Nabob never doubted, how much ſoever he diſſembled, that the time approached when he ſhould be obliged to maintain his government by his ſword. He reformed his army, which, like thoſe of moſt Indian princes in times of peace, was compoſed of an undiſciplined rabble, and enliſted none but the beſt men and horſes. Of theſe he formed a well-appointed army, conſiſting of 12,000 cavalry and 8000 infantry, and with this force determined to defend the entrance of the Carnatic to extremity: but another meaſure equally neceſſary to his preſervation he omitted; for he neglected, probably from the parſimony of his diſpoſition, to aſk from the Engliſh the aſſiſtance of a body of their troops; and the Engliſh, employed in ſupporting a much leſs important cauſe, were equally blind to their real intereſt, in neglecting to join the Nabob of their own accord, as ſoon as they found the French determined to ſupport his rival.

Chunda-

Chunda-ſaheb and Murzafa-jing approached, levying contributions in the countries thro' which they paſſed, in virtue of the quality of Soubah aſſumed by Murzafa-jing. In their progreſs they likewiſe augmented the number of their troops, which, when arrived at the borders of the Carnatic, amounted to 40,000 men. The troops ſent from Pondicherry croſſing the weſtern mountains, at a diſtance from An'war-adean Khan's army, joined Murzafa-jing without oppoſition; who immediately proceeded to attack the Nabob, and found him encamped, with 20,000 men, under the fort of Amour, laying 50 miles weſt of Arcot, and about 30 to the ſouth of Damal-cherri, where Doaſt-ally Khan was killed fighting againſt the Morattoes in 1741. This fort of Amour is built on the ſummit of a mountain, between which and a large lake at ſome diſtance from it is one of the principal paſſes leading into the Carnatic. The Nabob had thrown up acroſs the paſs a ſtrong entrenchment defended by cannon, which was ſerved by about 60 vagabond Europeans. The ditch of the entrenchment was filled by water from the lake; with which the Nabob had likewiſe cauſed the ground in front to be overflowed. 1749.

Mr. d'Auteuil offered to Chunda-ſaheb to ſtorm the entrenchment with the troops ſent from Pondicherry, without the aſſiſtance of any part of Murzafa-jing's army; and Chunda-ſaheb, glad of an opportunity to ſhew that prince the great ſervices which the European allies he had procured for him were capable of performing, readily accepted the offer. The French ſoldiers were animated by exaggerated repreſentations of the great treaſures and other valuable plunder in the Nabob's camp, and advanced with the Sepoys reſolutely to the attack; but they were repulſed, chiefly by the Nabob's artillery, of which the firſt diſcharge was well pointed, and did execution; they rallied, and made a ſecond attack, which laſted more than half an hour, and many of them had now mounted the breaſt-work of the entrenchment; but they were again beat off, and obliged to retire; and in this attack Mr. d'Auteuil was wounded. Stimulated by the expectations which were entertained of their proweſs by Chunda-ſaheb and Murzafa-jing, who with the whole army under their command had been ſpectators of the repulſes they had ſuſtained, they reſolved to make another effort: at the ſame time

1749. the courage of the defenders had been ſtaggered by the progreſs which the French troops had made in the preceding attack; ſo that Mr. d'Auteuil now found leſs reſiſtance than he expected, and the French got over the breaſt-work with little loſs. The different bodies poſted to defend the intrenchment took flight as ſoon as they ſaw the French in poſſeſſion of it: theſe formed, and advanced in order towards the enemy's main body, where the Nabob's ſtandard was diſplayed. He was here in perſon, mounted on an elephant, and ſurrounded, according to the Indian military array, by the choſen cavalry of his army, whom he was animating with great ſpirit to ſtand their ground, when numbers of the troops of Murzafa-jing, led by Chunda-ſaheb, having croſſed the entrenchment, joined the French battalion, and appeared advancing with them. In this inſtant the Nabob was informed that the ſtandard of Maphuze Khan, his eldeſt ſon, who commanded a wing of the main body, had diſappeared, and that Maphuze Khan himſelf was ſlain by a cannon ſhot. In the firſt agitations cauſed by this diſaſter, he perceived the elephant of Chunda-ſaheb, and knew the enſigns of his rival: more than one paſſion was now excited; and the Nabob, furious by the ſight of the author of this calamitous day, ordered the conductor of his elephant, with the promiſe of a great reward, to puſh directly againſt the elephant of Chunda-ſaheb. A part of the French battalion was in the way: they fired; a ſhot from the muſquet of a Caffre went through the Nabob's heart, and he fell from his elephant dead on the plain. As it generally happens in the battles of Indoſtan on the death of the commander in chief, all thoſe troops who had hitherto appeared determined to ſtand by the Nabob's ſtandard fled, as ſoon as he fell, and the rout became general. Murzafa-jing's troops purſued the fugitives, took many, and killed more. Amongſt the ſlain were three or four principal officers; and amongſt thoſe who ſurrendered was Maphuze Khan the Nabob's eldeſt ſon: his ſon Mahomed-ally was likewiſe in the battle; but he ſaved himſelf by taking flight. Twelve of the French battalion were killed, and 63 wounded: and about 300 of their Sepoys were either killed or wounded: of Murzafa-jing's army very few were loſt. This deciſive battle was fought on the 23d of July: the victorious army found the tents of the defeated ſtanding,

ing, and great quantities of baggage in the camp, which they plundered: the booty was valuable; ſixty elephants, and a great number of horſes, were taken; which, with the artillery, arms, and military ſtores, Chunda-ſaheb and Murzafa-jing reſerved to themſelves, and permitted their ſoldiery to take the reſt of the ſpoil: the French battalion had their reward in money. The next day the army ſet out for Arcot, the capital, and took poſſeſſion of the city and its fort without meeting any oppoſition. 1749.

Murzafa-jing here aſſumed all the ſtate and ceremonial of a Soubah, and, as the firſt mark of his authority, iſſued letters patent appointing his friend Chunda-ſaheb Nabob of the Carnatic, and of all the other dominions which had been under the juriſdiction of An'war-adean Khan. This ſudden revolution naturally ſtruck with conſternation all the chiefs and princes of the coaſt of Coromandel who wiſhed ill to the cauſe of Chunda-ſaheb. Foremoſt of theſe was the king of Tanjore, whoſe anceſtor, at the time that the Moors conquered the Carnatic, ſubmitted on condition of governing his country by its original cuſtoms; and for the enjoyment of this priviledge agreed to pay an annual tribute, as well as to furniſh a contingency of troops whenever the government of the Carnatic ſhould be at war in ſupport of the intereſts of the great Mogul. When Chunda-ſaheb, in 1736, was confirmed in the government of Tritchanopoly, he ſummoned the king of Tanjore to account for arrears of tribute, and pretended that he had in other reſpects offended againſt the ſovereignty of the emperor. A war enſued, in which Chunda-ſaheb beſieged the capital of Tanjore, but without ſucceſs. The dread entertained of his ambition by the princes of the ſouthern parts of the peninſula, together with their deteſtation of the violations committed by his troops in their temples, induced theſe princes, and above all the king of Tanjore, to ſollicit the Morattoes to invade the Carnatic, at the ſame time that Nizam al muluck, from other motives, was inſtigating that people to attack it. The diſaſters brought on the reigning family at Arcot, and the detriment which Chunda-ſaheb himſelf had ſuffered by the incurſion of the Morattoes, were ſuch as left no hopes of reconciliation in thoſe who had contributed to bring about that revolution. The news of the battle of Amour reached Tanjore whilſt the Engliſh troops under the

1749. the command of Major Lawrence were in the country, and ſtruck the king with ſo much terror, that, to gain their friendſhip, or even to make them ceaſe hoſtilities at this critical conjuncture, he would, if inſiſted on, have agreed to much harder terms than thoſe which the Engliſh impoſed. After the ratification of the treaty by which Devi-Cotah was ceded, Major Lawrence, leaving a garriſon in that fort, returned with the reſt of the troops to Fort St. David, where news had been lately received that a peace was concluded in Europe between Great Britain and France.

The revolution at Arcot did not fail to create much ſollicitude in the Engliſh at Fort St. David; and the part which Mr. Dupleix had taken in it ſufficiently explained his ambitious views: but unfortunately their own proceedings at this very time againſt the king of Tanjore deſtroyed the propriety of any proteſts againſt Dupleix's conduct; for they could accuſe him of nothing, which they had not done themſelves. Avoiding therefore any diſcuſſions on the battle of Amour, they confined themſelves for the preſent to demand the reſtoration of Madraſs, which the French, by an article in the peace of Aix la Chapelle, were obliged to deliver up. Mr. Boſcawen, with a part of the ſquadron, ſailed thither to take poſſeſſion of the town: it was evacuated in the middle of Auguſt; and the Engliſh received it in a condition very different from that in which they had left it. The buildings within the White Town had ſuffered no alteration; but the baſtions and batteries of this quarter had been enlarged and improved. The French had utterly demoliſhed that part of the Black Town which lay within 300 yards from the White; in which ſpace had ſtood the buildings belonging to the moſt opulent Armenian and Indian merchants: with the ruins they had formed an excellent glacis, which covered the north ſide of the White Town; and they had likewiſe flung up another to the ſouth ſide. The defences of the town remained ſtill much inferior to thoſe of Fort St. David, where the fortifications had been ſo much improved, that the Eaſt India company ordered, during the war, the preſidency of their ſettlements on the coaſt of Coromandel to be continued here.

Mr. Boſcawen, during his ſtay at Madraſs, diſcovered that the Indian Roman Catholics who reſided at St. Thomé, and formed the greateſt part

part of the inhabitants of this town, were, by the influence of their priests, attached to the French, as brethren of the same persuasion. By the constant intercourse arising from the vicinity of the two towns, the priests of St. Thomé were enabled to get intelligence of the transactions of the English at Madrass, and never failed to communicate them to Mr. Dupleix, who gave out that Murzafa-jing had made over the property of St. Thomé to the French company. Mr. Bosqawen, to remove the present inconveniences, and to prevent the greater detriments which would arise by the establishment of a French garrison in the town, took possession of it for the English company. The town had for many years belonged to the Nabobs of Arcot; and after the death of An'war-adean Khan seemed to belong to nobody, for there were no officers either civil or military acting with authority in the place. All the suspected priests were banished; and one of them, who had been sent by Mr. Dupleix from Pondicherry, was put on board a ship, and transported to Europe. The English flag was hoisted in the town, and a small redoubt, capable of containing about 30 men, was raised at the mouth of the river. 1749.

In the mean time Murzafa-jing and Chunda-saheb were employed at Arcot in settling the affairs of their new government, they summoned all the chiefs of districts, and governors of forts, friends as well as foes, to pay a contribution, which they received from many, and, amongst the rest, Mortiz-'ally, the governor of Velore, paid 700,000 rupees. After having thus established the reputation of their authority as sovereigns, they proceeded with the greatest part of their army, accompanied by the French battalion, to Pondicherry, and made their entry into the city with great pomp. Mr. Dupleix received them with all the ostentatious ceremonies and oriental marks of respect due to the high rank they assumed, and spared no expence in his entertainment of Murzafa-jing, to raise in him a high opinion of the grandeur and magnificence of the French nation. Here they settled the plan of their future operations; and Chunda-saheb presented Mr. Dupleix with the sovereignty of 81 villages in the neighbourhood of Pondicherry: after which he took the field with Murzafa-jing, and encamped about 20 miles to the west of the city.

Mahomed-

1749. Mahomed-ally, the ſecond ſon of An'war-adean Khan, fled from the battle of Amour directly to Tritchanopoly, where his mother, with the greateſt part of his father's treaſures, had been ſent for ſecurity, on the firſt news of Chunda-ſaheb's approach to the Carnatic. This city was much better fortified than any place of the ſame extent under An'war-adean Khan's government; nevertheleſs there remained little hopes of defending it againſt Murzafa-jing aſſiſted by the French troops, unleſs the garriſon was reinforced by a body of Engliſh. Mahomed-ally, not doubting but the Engliſh would be convinced of the neceſſity of ſtopping the French progreſs, applied to them, as ſoon as he got to Tritchanopoly, for aſſiſtance. He aſſerted, that both Murzafa-jing and Chunda-ſaheb were rebels to the empire; that Nazir-jing was the real Soubah appointed by the Great Mogul; and that he himſelf was the real Nabob of the Carnatic, having obtained the reverſion of the nabobſhip from Nizam al muluck, and he daily expected to receive the confirmation from Nazir-jing; and a few days afterwards he affirmed that he had received the patents of his appointment.

Whilſt Mr. Dupleix was proſecuting a plan which he knew to be entirely agreeable to the views of the monarch and miniſters of France, the agents of the Engliſh Eaſt India company were not authorized from the court of directors to involve their affairs in the riſks and expences of military operations: for having neither ſuſpected the views of Mr. Dupleix, nor, until the tranſitory expedition to Tanjore, entertained any ſuch views themſelves, they had neglected to aſk, and conſequently the directors to give, ſuch a power to exert themſelves as the preſent ſituation of affairs required: at the ſame time they retained their ancient reverence to the Mogul government. Murzafa-jing, for ought they knew, might be the Mogul's repreſentative, and ſo might Nazir-jing: they were in the ſame uncertainty of Mahomed-ally's title; and therefore dreaded the riſque of ſubjecting the company's ſettlements in all parts of India to the reſentment of the court of Delhi, if, by interfering in the preſent war of Coromandel, they ſhould chance to take the wrong ſide. Neceſſity was their juſtification for having taken poſſeſſion of St. Thomé; and they already repented ſeverely of their expedition to Tanjore: and relinquiſhing all views of conqueſt, they imagined that the

the reſtitution of theſe places would at any time ſatisfy the Mogul go- 1749.
vernment, which they were very unwilling to offend any farther. Reſtrained by this ſpirit of caution, at the ſame time that they fully ſaw the dangers to which they were expoſed, they were incapable of taking the vigorous reſolutions which the neceſſity of their affairs demanded. They ſhould have kept Mr. Boſcawen with his force on the coaſt, and joined their whole ſtrength to Mahomed-ally, without conſidering who was or was not authorized to fight in the Carnatic: whereas they only ſent 120 Europeans to join Mahomed-ally at Tritchanopoly, and ſuffered Mr. Boſcawen to return to England with the fleet and troops, notwithſtanding he had declared that he would remain, if the preſidency publickly requeſted him not to depart at this critical conjuncture.

On the 21ſt of October the fleet ſailed from Fort St. David, leaving behind 300 men, to reinforce the garriſon. The French were ſo ſenſible of the great advantages they ſhould derive from Mr. Boſcawen's departure, that they could not immediately bring themſelves to believe that he intended to quit India, but imagined that had he only left the coaſt to avoid the ſtormy monſoon, and purpoſed to return as ſoon as that ſeaſon was paſſed. However, they were prepared to take advantage even of this abſence, ſhort as they ſuppoſed it; and the very next day Murzafa-jing's army, accompanied by 800 Europeans, 300 Caffres and Topaſſes, with a train of artillery, began to march from Pondicherry, and croſſing the river Coleroon, entered the kingdom of Tanjore.

Mr. Dupleix had ſtrongly recommended to Chunda-ſaheb to ſuffer nothing to divert him from proceeding directly to attack the city of Tritchanopoly; ſince it was evident, that until this place was reduced, the family of An'war-adean Khan would always be enabled to make efforts to recover the nabobſhip. Chunda-ſaheb acquieſced in the truth of this reaſoning; and, not to diſcourage the ardour with which Mr. Dupleix ſupported his cauſe, ſolemnly promiſed to follow his advice, when at the ſame time he intended to act contrary to it. From the dread of leſſening his own importance, as well as that of Murzafa-jing, he had carefully concealed from Mr. Dupleix that their trea-

1749. ſures, notwithſtanding the large contributions they had raiſed, were almoſt exhauſted by maintaining ſo numerous an army; and fearing that the ſiege of Tritchanopoly might be protracted ſo long, that their troops would deſert for want of pay before the place was taken, he had determined to open the campaign by the ſiege of Tanjore, which being ill fortified, he hoped in a few days either to take, or to reduce to ſuch extremities, as would induce the king to pay a large ſum of money to ſave his capital and his crown.

As ſoon as the army entered the kingdom, Chunda-ſaheb ſummoned the king to pay the arrears of tribute from the death of the Nabob Subder-ally Khan in 1741; aſſerting, that whatever he might have paid in the interval to An'war-adean Khan was not a tribute to the Mogul government, but a contribution to ſupport a rebel againſt it. It is the cuſtom in Indoſtan to make the conquered pay all the expences of the war; and Chunda-ſaheb adding to the account of the arrears an exaggerated account of the charges of Murzafa-jing's expedition into the Carnatic, made the total of his demand amount to 40 millions of rupees. The king, upon the firſt approach of the enemy had ſhut himſelf up in his capital, and now ſeeing the ſtorm, which he had for ſome time apprehended, ready to break upon his head, loſt courage, and offered to pay a ranſom: this was more neceſſary to Chunda-ſaheb, than either the reduction of the city, or even the conqueſt of the kingdom; for in the firſt caſe the treaſures, as is the cuſtom in times of danger, would be buried, and in the other no revenue, in the confuſions of a revolution, could be collected for ſome months. In order therefore to convince the king of his readineſs to enter into a negociation, he did not ſuffer his army to approach nearer than three miles of the city; and he requeſted the commander of the French battalion not to commit hoſtilities during the treaty. The wily Tanjorine knew that by protracting time he ſhould increaſe the diſtreſs of his enemies, and in his letters expreſſed himſelf with ſo much ſeeming humility, that Chunda-ſaheb ſuffered himſelf to be amuſed to the middle of December, without having ſettled the terms of accommodation. In the mean time the king, correſponding with Mahomed-ally at Tritchanopoly, joined with him in exhorting Nazir-jing, at Gol-kondah, to come and ſettle the affairs

affairs of the Carnatic in perſon, after the example of his father Nizam al muluck. He likewiſe ſollicited the aſſiſtance of the Engliſh, who exhorted him to defend himſelf to the laſt extremity; but ſent to his aſſiſtance no more than 20 Europeans, who were detached from Tritchanopoly, and entered the city of Tanjore in the night. 1749.

Mr. Dupleix beheld with great anxiety this detention of the army before Tanjore, and continually ſent letters, repreſenting to Chunda-ſaheb the ſuperior importance of Tritchanopoly: and finding that his exhortations had no effect, he ordered the commander of the French battalion to endeavour to break off the treaty, by committing ſome ſignal hoſtility. By this time Chunda-ſaheb likewiſe thought it neceſſary to attack the place, and, to intimidate the Tanjorines, ordered the whole army to march round the walls ſounding their military muſic. This proceſſion was repeated four days ſucceſſively, but without effect. The Tanjorines fired from the walls upon the troops, whilſt they were making this parade; and on the fifth day the French troops attacked three redoubts, about 600 yards from the walls, and carried them, with the loſs of five Europeans. Early the next morning ſome of the king's miniſters came to the camp, and entered into conference with Chunda-ſaheb, who made his propoſals, and allowed the king two days to conſider of them; but finding that no anſwer was returned on the third, he directed the French commandant to bombard the town: a few ſhells fell near the king's palace, and frightened him ſo much, that he immediately ſent the deputies again to the camp; who renewed the conferences, which continued three days longer without concluding any thing. The French commandant, more weary than Chunda-ſaheb of theſe delays, renewed the bombardment; and the enemy, aſſiſted by the Engliſh ſoldiers, anſwered it by the fire of many pieces of cannon, which they had brought from different parts of the fortifications to that which was oppoſite to the French attack. Exaſperated by this unexpected reſiſtance, they aſſaulted one of the gates of the city, and carried it; but were nevertheleſs prevented from entering the town by ſtrong retrenchments. However, this ſucceſs thoroughly intimidated the king, and he now, for the firſt time, entered ſeriouſly into the diſcuſſion of Chunda-ſaheb's de-

1749. mands, and ratified the treaty on the 21ſt of December; by which he agreed to pay Chunda-ſaheb, as Nabob, 7,000,000 rupees, and 200,000 immediately in hand to the French troops; he likewiſe ceded to the French company the ſovereignty of 81 villages, which had formerly depended on the town of Carical, where the French had eſtabliſhed themſelves, and built a Fort, againſt his will, in the year 1736.

1750. We are not exactly informed of the ſum ſtipulated to be immediately paid; but in theſe military collections the firſt payment rarely exceeds a fourth part of the whole aſſeſſment. The king paid the money with the ſame ſpirit of procraſtination that he had employed in making the agreement. One day he ſent gold and ſilver plate, and his officers wrangled like pedlars for the prices at which it ſhould be valued; another day he ſent old and obſolete coins, ſuch as he knew would require ſtrict and tedious examination; and then he ſent jewels and precious ſtones, of which the value was ſtill more difficult to be aſcertained. Chunda-ſaheb ſaw the drift of theſe artifices, and knowing them to be common practices, ſubmitted to wait, rather than loſe the money, of which he was ſo much in want. In theſe delays ſeveral weeks more elapſed; and the king of Tanjore had not completed the firſt payment when Mr. Dupleix informed Chundah-ſaheb that Nazir-jing was approaching from Gol-kondah, and adviſed him at all events to take poſſeſſion of Tanjore as a place of refuge. But this news ſtruck Murzafa-jing with ſo much terror, that he immediately broke up his camp with precipitation, and marched back towards Pondicherry.

Nazir-jing, ſummoned, as ſome ſay, by the Great Mogul, to receive from his own hand the inveſtiture of the ſouthern provinces, or, according to other accounts, intending to ſollicit that dignity, was on his way to Delhi, when he heard of the battle of Amour. The conqueſt of the Carnatic rendered his nephew no longer a chimercal adventurer, but a formidable rival; he therefore deſiſted from his journey to Delhi, and returned to Gol-kondah, where he immediately began to augment his army, and ſent orders to all the Nabobs and Rajahs, whoſe territories lay to the ſouth of the Kriſtna, to hold themſelves in readineſs to accompany him, with the number of troops which, either as

princes paying tribute or as feudatories of the empire, they were obliged to furniſh in times of danger to the Mogul government. It is probable, from the implicit obedience which was paid to theſe orders, that he was generally believed to be the real repreſentative of the emperor. For ſome time Nazir-jing imagined, that the report alone of theſe extraordinary preparations would intimidate his nephew, and induce him to make ſubmiſſions: but finding that Murzafa-jing, purſuing his ſucceſſes, had marched into the kingdom of Tanjore, he ſet out from Gol-kondah, and advanced towards the Carnatic. His army, encumbered with all the preparations neceſſary to furniſh the ſame luxuries in his camp as he enjoyed in his capital, made ſlow and dilatory marches, and was during its progreſs every day augmented by the coming in of the different troops ſummoned to join him. He had hired three bodies of Morattoes, of 10,000 men each, to act as the huſſars of the army: one of theſe was commanded by Morari-row, the ſame man who was left governor of Tritchanopoly when the Morattoes took the city from Chunda-ſaheb in 1743. Morari-row was ſent forward, and in the middle of February arrived on the bank of the Coleroon, the ſouthern boundary of the Carnatic, before any other part of Nazir-jing's troops had entered the province to the north. They met near the pagoda of Chilamboram the army of Murzafa-jing, returning with the French battalion; and being not ſtrong enough to venture a general battle, they divided into different bodies, and continued to harraſs the enemy's line of march, which extended three leagues: they were often repulſed by the fire of the French field pieces, notwithſtanding which they continued to return to the charge, and accompanied Murzafa-jing's army until it arrived at Villanore. Murzafa-jing and Chunda-ſaheb went into Pondicherry to confer with Mr. Dupleix, who ſharply reproached Chunda-ſaheb for having deviated from the plan of attacking Tritchanopoly, as alſo for not taking poſſeſſion of Tanjore. It was now no longer time to diſſemble, and Chunda-ſaheb confeſſed the motives of his conduct, by repreſenting the diſtreſs to which Murzafa-jing's affairs, as well as his own, were at that time reduced for want of money: he added, that what they had received at Tanjore had likewiſe been expended in the pay of the army, 1750.

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1750. to whom ſuch arrears were ſtill due, that he every day apprehended ſome tumult, or perhaps a general defection to their common enemy Nazir-jing. The known generoſity of Chunda-ſaheb ſecured him from the ſuſpicion of diſſembling in this declaration, and Mr. Dupleix now ſhewed his ability to conduct the ambitions cauſe in which he was engaged, by not heſitating to employ the treaſures of the French company to relieve the diſtreſs of his allies. He lent them 50,000 pounds, and gave out that he intended to furniſh them with ſtill larger ſums: this well-timed aſſiſtance reconciled and pacified the army of Murzafa-jing. At the ſame time Mr. Dupleix augmented the French battalion to the number of 2000 Europeans, and ordered this body to encamp, under the command of Mr. d'Auteuil at Villanore, where the army of Murzafa-jing was poſted.

Nazir-jing, on entering the Carnatic, ſummoned Mahomed-ally to join him from Tritchanopoly, and diſpatched letters to Fort St. David, requeſting the Engliſh to ſend a body of Europeans; and he ordered all the troops that marched from the northward to rendezvous at Gingee, a ſtrong fort ſituated about 35 miles to the northweſt of Pondicherry. Large bodies arrived there every day; and at length, about the middle of March, came up Nazir-jing himſelf with the main body. When the whole was aſſembled, his army conſiſted of 300,000 fighting men, of which more than one half were cavalry, together with 800 pieces of cannon and 1300 elephants. This force, and the number of great lords who followed his ſtandard, convinced the Engliſh that Nazir-jing was the real Soubah of the ſouthern provinces, and they ordered the detachment at Tritchanopoly to proceed with Mahomed-ally, who with 6000 horſe joined Nazir-jing at Waldore, about fifteen miles from Pondicherry. A few days after, on the 22d of March, major Lawrence, with a body of 600 Europeans from Fort St. David, came to his camp, which was now in ſight of that of Murzafa-jing.

A member of the council, and captain Dalton, a military officer, accompanied major Lawrence, and were authorized, in conjunction with him, to treat with Nazir-jing on the intereſts of the Eaſt India company; he received this deputation with politeneſs,

neſs, and, among other oriental compliments, deſired major Lawrence to take upon him the command of his whole army, and propoſed to attack the enemy immediately. Major Lawrence repreſented, that the attack would coſt the lives of many brave men, as the French occupied a ſtrong poſt defended by a large train of artillery; but that, by moving his army between the enemy and Pondicherry, he might, by cutting off their communication, oblige them to fight at a greater diſadvantage. Nazir-jing replied, "What! ſhall the great Nazir-jing, the ſon of Ni-"zam al muluck, even for an advantage, ſuffer the diſgrace of ſeeming "to retreat before ſo deſpicable an enemy? No, he would march and "attack them in front." Major Lawrence replied, that he might act as he pleaſed; the Engliſh would be ready to ſupport him. The two armies were ſo near, that an engagement ſeemed inevitable; and there was ſo much diſorder at this time in the French battalion, that had the advice of Nazir-jing been followed, the attack he propoſed would have been ſucceſsful. 1750.

The French officers who accompanied Murzafa-jing to Tanjore had taken care to receive, out of the firſt payments made by the king, the money that had been ſtipulated as their ſhare of the contribution. On the return of the army to Pondicherry, moſt of theſe officers requeſted and obtained leave to quit the camp, and repoſe themſelves from their fatigues in the city, and others were ſent to ſupply their places. Theſe entering upon ſervice juſt as Nazir-jing's army aſſembled at Gingee, complained loudly that they ſhould be choſen to ſtand the brunt of danger, without any proſpect of advantage, whilſt thoſe, who had without any riſque got ſo much money at Tanjore, were ſuffered to retire from the field. They made remonſtrances, and demanded a ſum of money, to put their fortunes upon an equality with thoſe to whoſe poſts they ſucceeded. Mr. Dupleix attempted to bring them back to their duty by ſeverity; but on arreſting one, all the reſt inſiſted on receiving the ſame treatment, and their numbers being too great to be ſpared from the ſervice of the camp at this critical time, the whole party were ſuffered to remain without puniſhment, and continued to ſow faction and diſcontent. The ſoldiers, from this example,

1750. ample of their officers, grew inſolent, and became regardleſs of their duty.

Such was the confuſion in the French camp, when major Lawrence arrived at that of Nazir-jing. The next day the two armies drew out in view of each other, and a cannonade enſued. Mr. d'Auteuil having no reliance on his troops, and dreading the conſequences of being attacked by the Engliſh, ſent a meſſenger to acquaint major Lawrence, that although the troops of the two nations were engaged in different cauſes, yet it was not his intention that any European blood ſhould be ſpilt: and as he did not know in what part of Nazir-jing's army the Engliſh took poſt, he could not be blamed if any of the French ſhot came that way. Major Lawrence returned anſwer, that the Engliſh colours were carried on the flag-gun of their artillery, which if Mr. d'Auteuil would look out for, he might from thence diſcover where the Engliſh were poſted. He added, that although he was as unwilling as Mr. d'Auteuil to ſpill European blood, yet if any ſhot came that way, he ſhould certainly return them. A ſhot from the French entrenchment flew over the Engliſh battalion; and Major Lawrence, imagining that it was fired by Mr. d'Auteuil's order, to try whether the Engliſh would venture to come to action with the French, directed it to be anſwered from three guns: the ſeditious French officers, inſtead of encouraging, diſheartened their men, by exaggerated deſcriptions of the ſuperior force of the enemy. The cannonade did little execution, and ceaſed in the evening.

As ſoon as the night ſet in, 13 officers went in a body to Mr. d'Auteuil, gave up their commiſſions, and immediately left the camp; and by this ſcandalous deſertion confirmed the panic of the troops, who naturally imputed it to fear. Mr. d'Auteuil dreading the conſequences of expoſing his men in this confuſion to a general battle, took the reſolution of withdrawing immediately from the field, and ordered the battalion to march without delay to Pondicherry. Murzafa-jing and Chunda-ſaheb knew of the ſedition, but never ſuſpecting that it would have produced this conſequence, were overwhelmed with aſtoniſhment, when they found that their entreaties and remonſtrances could not induce Mr. d'Auteuil to alter his reſolution.

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For ſome days before the cannonade, meſſengers had paſſed between the two camps, with overtures of accommodation; and ſeveral officers in Nazir-jing's army had aſſured Murzafa-jing, that if he ſubmitted, they would protect his perſon, and guarantee the execution of any treaty which he might make with his uncle; but his reliance on the French troops and Mr. Dupleix, had hitherto prevented him from laying down his arms. There was now no time to be loſt in deliberation, for every one was convinced that in conſequence of the retreat of the French battalion, the whole army, before another ſun was ſet, would provide for its ſafety, either by taking flight, or by going over to Nazir-jing. Chunda-ſaheb, who had every thing to fear from the reſentment of Nazir-jing, took his reſolution in the inſtant, to accompany the French troops to Pondicherry. Murzafa-jing ſtill heſitated. His principal officers determined him, by repreſenting the irreparable diſgrace he would incur by expoſing the ſtandard of the empire, which as Soubah he diſplayed, to retreat: for it is ſuppoſed that this enſign never retreats. He therefore refuſed to accompany Chunda-ſaheb; and relying on the aſſurances which had been made to him from Nazir-jing's camp, reſolved to ſend deputies there, with offers to ſurrender. After this gloomy conference, the two friends oppreſſed, but not ſo much overwhelmed by their misfortunes as to deſpair of meeting again in a better hour, embraced and ſeparated with profeſſions of inviolable attachment, which although made by princes in Indoſtan were ſincere. The French battalion, with ſome ſquadrons of horſe led by Chunda-ſaheb, decamped at midnight in ſilence, but in ſuch confuſion, that they left behind forty gunners, with eleven pieces of cannon. At the ſame time the deputies of Murzafa-jing repaired to the tent of Shanavaz Khan, who with the principal officers of the durbar or court introduced them to Nazir-jing. This prince was ſo overjoyed at the proſpect of having his nephew in his power, that it is ſaid he did not heſitate to ſwear on the alcoran, that he would neither make him a priſoner, nor deprive him of the governments which he enjoyed during his grandfather's life. 1750.

On theſe aſſurances, Murzafa-jing left his camp, and proceeded to pay his reſpects to his uncle; but on approaching the head-quarters, was arreſted, and carried under a ſtrict guard into a tent near that of Nazir-

1750. jing, where he was immediately put in irons; as ſoon as the prince was ſeized, his camp was attacked, and his troops ſurpriſed made little reſiſtance: many were ſlain during the purſuit, for the Soubah's troops gave no quarter. A party of horſe fell in with the French gunners, who had been abandoned by the reſt of the battalion, and cut the greateſt part of them to pieces. They would have deſtroyed the whole, had not the Engliſh reſcued ſome of them from their fury, but moſt of theſe were wounded. The Morattoes, commanded by Morari-row, puſhed on in purſuit of the French battalion, and came up with it before it had gained the bound-hedge. Mr. d'Auteuil formed his men into a hollow-ſquare, which Morari-row attacked and broke into, with only 15 men, imagining that the reſt of his party followed him; on ſeeing his danger when ſurrounded he immediately made another effort, and broke through the oppoſite ſide with ſix men, loſing nine in this ſecond attack. The Morattoes continued to harraſs the army until they arrived at the bound-hedge: they killed 19 of the Europeans, and would have done more execution, had they not been vigorouſly oppoſed by the cavalry commanded by Chunda-ſaheb, who behaved with great activity and reſolution during the retreat.

This victory intirely diſperſed the army of Chunda-ſaheb and Murzafa-jing, and, together with the impriſonment of his rival, ſeemed to aſſure to Nazir-jing the quiet poſſeſſion of the ſoubahſhip: but his capacity was unequal to the management of ſo great an employ, and treaſon began already to taint his councils. The nabobs of Cudapa, Canoul, and Savanore, were the moſt conſiderable of the feudatory lords who had accompanied him into the Carnatic: they were all three Pitans by birth, and poſſeſſed the daring temper which characterizes that nation. They had obeyed the ſummons of Nazir-jing, and taken the field without reluctance, becauſe they made no doubt of obtaining in reward of their military ſervice, a remiſſion of large ſums they owed to the Mogul's treaſury, as well as conſiderable immunities in their reſpective governments: but Nazir-jing, who aſſumed the full ſtate of a ſoubah, paid no regard to their pretenſions, and treated them as feudatories, who had done no more than their duty in joining the Mogul's ſtandard. Diſappointed in their expectations, they grew weary of a war by which their intereſts were

were not benefited, and to put an end to it, had been the firſt to adviſe Murzafa-jing to ſubmit. They were ſeconded in theſe intentions of bringing about a reconciliation by Shanavaz Khan the prime miniſter, and ſeveral of the principal ſervants of Nazir-jing's court: but theſe were actuated by better motives; for, owing their fortunes to Nizam-almuluck, their gratitude to his memory, and attachment to his family, made them behold with affliction a civil war between his ſon and grandſon. It was to theſe Nabobs and miniſters, as well as to the ambaſſadors of Murzafa-jing, that Nazir-jing had given thoſe ſolemn aſſurances of not injuring his nephew, which he broke as ſoon as he got him into his power. This breach of faith hurt the minds of all who had interfered in inducing the young prince to ſurrender: but the miniſters were content to make gentle repreſentations to their maſter, whilſt the Pitan Nabobs openly and loudly complained of the affront caſt upon themſelves, by his contempt of obligations, for the performance of which they had promiſed to be reſponſible; and from this hour they confederated, and meditated miſchief, but agreed to ſhew no farther ſymptoms of diſcontent until they could carry their deſigns into execution. 1750.

At Pondicherry, the retreat of the French battalion, the news of Murzafa-jing's impriſonment, and the diſperſion of his army, naturally created the greateſt conſternation. But Mr. Dupleix, although more affected than any one by theſe ſudden reverſes, had command enough over himſelf to ſuppreſs the emotions of his mind, and diſſembled great ſerenity. He immediately ordered the army to encamp out of the bounds, ſent other officers to command it, arreſted the mutinous, directed Mr. d'Auteuil to be tried for retreating without orders, and by his own reſolution re-eſtabliſhed in ſome meaſure that of the troops. At the ſame time he knew that ſuch a handful of Europeans, unſupported by an Indian army, was incapable of making a ſtand againſt the vaſt force of Nazir-jing, aſſiſted by the Engliſh battalion; but his knowledge of the general character of the princes of Indoſtan, made him not deſpair of diſcovering, or even of creating ſome faction in the court of Nazir-jing, which, artfully managed, might contribute to re-eſtabliſh the broken affairs of Murzafa-jing and Chunda-ſaheb. In order there-

1750. fore to gain the time and intelligence of which he ſtood ſo much in need, he determined to enter into a negotiation. He had ſome days before wrote a letter to Nazir-jing, in which he had offered to make peace, on condition that Murzafa-jing was re-inſtated in his former governments, and Chunda-ſaheb put in poſſeſſion of the nabobſhip of the Carnatic. To this letter Nazir-jing had returned no anſwer, and Mr. Dupleix made uſe of this neglect as a pretext to continue the correſpondence. He aſſerted, that the retreat of the French troops had been executed in conſequence of orders which he himſelf had given, in hopes of accelerating the peace, by that proof of his averſion to continue hoſtilities; and to convince Nazir-jing that the troops had not taken flight, as was believed in his camp, he boldly magnified the ſlaughter they made when attacked in their retreat. He reminded him of the hoſpitality and good treatment which his ſiſter, the mother of Murzafa-jing, received in Pondicherry; recommended this prince to his clemency, and deſired leave to ſend embaſſadors.

Nazir-jing conſented to receive the embaſſy, and two of the council of Pondicherry went to the camp, one of them was well verſed in the Indoſtan and Perſic languages, which are the only tongues uſed in the courts of the Mahomedan princes. They had an audience of ceremony, after which they conferred, as uſual, with the council of miniſters, and after ſeveral higher demands, they made their ultimate propoſals, which were, that the eſtates of Murzafa-jing ſhould be inveſted in the ſon of that prince, until Nazir-jing could be prevailed on to reconcile himſelf to the father; and that Chunda-ſaheb ſhould be appointed Nabob of the Carnatic. The council of miniſters, although many of them wiſhed well to Murzafa-jing, would not venture to repreſent to their maſter the demands made by Mr. Dupleix in his behalf; and told the French deputies, that the pretenſions of Chunda-ſaheb were ſtill leſs admiſſible, ſeeing that the government of the Carnatic was beſtowed on Mahomed-ally, the ſon of An'war-adean Khan. The French deputies left the camp, after having remained in it eight days; but although they failed in gaining the apparent ends of their miſſion, they obtained the real advantages Mr. Dupleix propoſed from it, by making themſelves acquainted with the ſtate of Nazir-jing's court, and by eſtabliſhing

bliſhing the means of carrying on a correſpondence with the diſcontented Nabobs of Cudapa, Kanoul, and Savanore. 1750.

Suſpicions were entertained of the clandeſtine conduct of the French deputies, and major Lawrence was informed, that ſome deſign was carrying on in the camp againſt the Soubah, in which Shanavaz Khan the prime miniſter was the principal agent. The latter part of this report was not true, and the firſt could not be proved: however, the major at an audience endeavoured to acquaint Nazir-jing with what he had heard, but his interpreter had not courage to make a declaration which would probably have coſt him his life, and miſrepreſented what he was ordered to ſay. There was no other method of conveying this intelligence; for the ſtate maintained by Nazir-jing, as Soubah, ſuffered no letters to be directly addreſſed to him, and no one was admitted to a private conference but his prime miniſter who was involved in the accuſation, or his domeſtics, who, as in all courts, were dependants on the miniſter.

On the return of the deputies, Chunda-ſaheb began to levy troops, and Mr. Dupleix thought it neceſſary to re-eſtabliſh the reputation of the French arms by ſome enterprize, which might convince the allies he had gained in Nazir-jing's camp that he was both prepared and determined to continue the war. Mr. d'Auteuil, who had re-aſſumed the command, marched before day, and attacked by ſurprize one of the quarters of the camp, into which the troops penetrated a mile, firing at fugitives: for, as it is the cuſtom in an Indian army to make the great meal at night, and after it to ſmoke opium, and other ſoporiferous drugs, the whole camp towards morning is generally in ſo deep and heavy a ſleep that a handful of diſciplined and determined men may beat up thouſands, before they recover alertneſs ſufficient to make any vigorous reſiſtance.

In the mean time major Lawrence with the battalion remained in the camp, and with the other deputies ſollicited Nazir-jing to confirm the grant, which Mahomed-ally, now eſteemed Nabob of Arcot, had made to the Eaſt India company of a territory near Madraſs, in return for the aſſiſtance of their troops. He had often promiſed to comply with this requeſt; but his miniſter Shanavaz Khan regarded

ſuch

1750. ſuch a ceſſion as inconſiſtent with the majeſty of the Mogul empire, and prevented the phirmaund, or patent, from being iſſued from his office. Wearied with prevarication, major Lawrence inſiſted on a peremptory anſwer, when he was aſſured that he ſhould be immediately ſatisfied, provided he would march with the battalion to Arcot, where Nazir-jing had taken the reſolution of going with his whole army. He did not think it prudent to comply with this propoſal, leſt the French and Chunda-ſaheb ſhould take advantage of his abſence and invade the Engliſh ſettlements. He therefore endeavoured to divert the Soubah from this purpoſe, by repreſenting that it would give the enemy an opportunity of recruiting their forces, and recommencing hoſtilities; whereas by remaining near Pondicherry, he might, by cutting off their communications with the country, reduce them to ſuch diſtreſſes as would oblige them to accept of peace on his own terms. This reaſoning producing no effect, the major returned with the battalion to Fort St. David, and in the latter end of April Nazir-jing broke up his camp at Valdore, and marched to Arcot.

From hence he ſent orders to ſeize the houſes and effects which the French company had in the city of Maſulipatnam, and at Yanam, a weaving town about 25 miles farther north. His officers proceeded without violence, plundered nothing, and ſealed up what they took poſſeſſion of. The detriment ſuſtained was not conſiderable; but Mr. Dupleix, apprized of the defenceleſs condition of Maſulipatnam, determined to revenge it ten-fold, by attacking this city, which he had for ſome months conſidered as an acquiſition ſo neceſſary to his future views, that he had prevailed on Murzafa-jing upon his firſt arrival at Pondicherry to promiſe the ceſſion of it to the French company. This city is ſituated at the mouth of the river Kriſtna, which bounds the coaſt of Coromandel, and the ancient Carnatic to the north: it is the ſea-port of Gol-kondah and the weſtern countries in that part of the peninſula, with which it has a communication both by the river Kriſtna, and by an excellent high road: it was formerly the greateſt mart, and one of the moſt opulent and populous cities of Indoſtan; inſomuch that ſeveral modern authors, firſt blundering in the acceptation and orthography of the termination Patnam, which ſignifies a

town; and then forming conjectures on the reputation of this place, have not heſitated to derive the whole Pitan nation, but alſo a race of kings at Delhi, from a colony of Arabians, who, about 400 years ago, as they ſay, founded Maſulipatnam. The city is even at this day a place of conſiderable trade and reſort, and famous for its manufactures of painted cloths, for the plants of which the dyes are compoſed grow no where in ſuch perfection as in the countries about it. In the beginning of July a detachment of 200 Europeans and 300 Sepoys, together with ſeveral pieces of battering cannon and a quantity of military ſtores, were put on board two large ſhips, which, after a paſſage of three days, anchored in the road. The troops landed in the night, and attacking the city by ſurprize, took it with very little loſs. They kept poſſeſſion of it, and immediately began to put it into a better poſture of defence. 1750.

In the mean time the French battalion had ſoon after the retreat of the Soubah's army formed their camp, as if in defiance of his authority, on the limits of the new territory ceded by Murzafa-jing to the French company; but this inſult produced no effect on the mind of Nazir-jing, who deeming the impriſonment of his nephew a ſecurity againſt any farther commotions, indulged the bent of his nature, and gave his whole time to the pleaſures of women, and hunting: but although he gave no application to buſineſs, he decided peremptorily on the affairs which his miniſters reported to him, and his orders, however abſurd, were irrevocable: his caprices diſguſted his friends, and his indolence rendered him contemptible to his enemies. The Pitan Nabobs inſinuated themſelves into his favour, by encouraging him in his vices, and at the ſame time adviſed Mr. Dupleix to proceed to action.

Mr. Dupleix followed their advice, and ordered 500 Europeans to attack the pagoda of Trivadi, lying about fifteen miles to the weſt of Fort St. David. The pagoda ſerved as a citadel to a large pettah, by which name the people on the coaſt of Coromandel call every town contiguous to a fortreſs. Trivadi made no reſiſtance, and the French having garriſoned it with 50 Europeans and 100 Sepoys, began to collect the revenues of the diſtrict. This acquiſition carried them to the ſouth of the river Panar; and Mahomed-ally concluding that they would not heſitate to puſh their conqueſts ſtill farther, requeſted Nazir-jing to permit him to take the field, and defend the territories of which he had

created

1750. created him lord, alledging that the Engliſh, for the ſake of their own intereſts, would join his troops with their whole force. Nazir-jing was ſo exaſperated againſt the Engliſh, for having refuſed to accompany him to Arcot, that it was ſome time before he could be prevailed on to ſuffer his vaſſal to aſk their aſſiſtance: at length however he conſented, but without giving his own name as a ſanction. The Engliſh, aſſured by Mahomed-ally that he would punctually defray all expences, ordered a body of 400 Europeans and 1500 Sepoys to take the field, and the Nabob marched from Arcot with an army of 20,000 men, of which more than one half were the troops of Nazir-jing; but not thinking even this force ſufficient to paſs through the countries near Pondicherry before he was reinforced by the Engliſh troops, encamped and waited for them near Gingee, where they joined him in the beginning of July.

The army then moved towards Fort St. David, and encamped on the plain of Trivandaparum, waiting for two 24 pounders and military ſtores. As ſoon as theſe arrived, they marched on the 19th of July towards the French, whom they diſcovered in the evening about eight miles to the eaſt of Trivadi, near the northern bank of the Pannar, which river was at this time fordable. The army halted on the ſouth ſide of the river, and a large body of Sepoys, with the company of Coffres, were detached to attack the enemy's advanced poſts, and to reconnoitre the ſituation of their camp. A ſkirmiſh enſued, which laſted till night, when the detachment was recalled. They reported, that the enemy's camp was in a grove, encloſed by ſtrong entrenchments, mounted with ten pieces of cannon. In order to draw them from this ſituation, captain Cope perſuaded the Nabob to march againſt Trivadi; and the army appeared before the place the next day, and ſummoned the garriſon, who refuſed to ſurrender. Captain Cope therefore propoſed to the Nabob to order his troops to ſcale the walls, and make a general aſſault, whilſt the Engliſh battered down the gates. The Nabob conſented, but his troops refuſed to undertake ſo perillous an attempt; the army therefore marched back the next morning towards the French encampment, and halting, formed for battle within gun-ſhot of their entrenchments. The commander of the French troops ſent a meſſenger to aſk the reaſon why the Engliſh came ſo near their poſts, and declared that if they

they did not immediately march away, he ſhould in his own defence be obliged to fire on them. Captain Cope replied, that the Engliſh acting as allies to the Nabob, were determined to accompany him into all parts of his dominions, and to aſſiſt him againſt all who ſhould oppoſe his authority. The meſſenger was ſcarcely returned when a ſhot from the French entrenchment ſtruck down ſome of the Engliſh ſoldiers. It was anſwered from the two 18 pounders and four field pieces; and a cannonade enſued, which laſted from noon till night, when the Engliſh quitted their ground with the loſs of 10 Europeans and 50 Sepoys, and 200 of the Nabob's troops were likewiſe killed: the French, ſecured by their entrenchments, ſuffered much leſs. This ill ſucceſs depreſſed Mahomed-ally as much as if the army had ſuffered a total defeat, and rendering him anxious to remove out of the neighbourhood of the enemy, he propoſed to march to the weſt, pretending that his army could not ſubſiſt in their preſent ſituation, ſince all their proviſions coming from Arcot, and the inland parts of the province, would be expoſed to the French ſtations at Gingee, Valdore, and Trivady. By accompanying the Nabob the Engliſh would have been of no other ſervice than that of ſhewing him to the province in parade at the head of an army: but this, ridiculous as it may appear, was the very ſervice he preferred to all others, ſince it would have produced not only the homage of the renters and farmers of the country, but likewiſe ſome money by the preſents he would have obliged them to make. On the other hand, captain Cope was inſtructed not to march beyond any of the French poſts, leſt his communication with Fort St. David ſhould be cut off; and he was likewiſe ordered to endeavour by all means to bring the enemy to an engagement: he therefore inſiſted with the Nabob that the army ſhould place themſelves between the French camp and Pondicherry. There were no means of reconciling two opinions ſo directly oppoſite; and this diſagreement indiſpoſed the Nabob ſo much towards his allies, that when they demanded the money promiſed for their expences, he firſt made excuſes, and at laſt declared he had none, having, as he ſaid, exhauſted his treaſury by giving Nazir-jing two millions of rupees. Major Lawrence, who now commanded at 1750.

1750. Fort St. David, not only as the firſt military officer, but alſo as temporary governor of the ſettlement, was as much offended by theſe prevarications of Mahomed-ally as he had been by thoſe of Nazir-jing, and with the ſame ſpirit of indignation which had dictated to him the reſolution of quitting the Soubah, ordered the troops to leave the Nabob, and march back to Fort St. David, where they arrived the 19th of Auguſt.

As ſoon as they retreated, Mr. Dupleix ordered the main body at Valdore to march and join the camp near Trivady: the whole force when united conſiſted of 1800 Europeans, 2500 Sepoys, and 1000 horſe levied by Chunda-ſaheb, together with twelve field pieces. The army of Mahomed-ally conſiſted of 5000 foot and 15000 horſe variouſly armed: his camp extended between two villages which ſecured the flanks; the rear was defended by a river; in front were ſeveral entrenchments occupied by the infantry; and in the other intervals where there were no entrenchments cannon were planted: the cavalry, inſtead of being out on the plain, formed a ſecond line within the camp. On the 21ſt of Auguſt the French advanced to attack this abſurd diſpoſition: their field pieces were diſtributed in front; the baggage-carts were ranged in a regular line in the rear, and the cavalry were on each wing: they made ſeveral halts, during which they gave a general diſcharge of their artillery, which was anſwered by the enemy's cannon and muſketry, not a ſhot of which did execution; but a rocket, which the Moors make uſe of to frighten cavalry, ſet fire to a tumbril, and this blowing up, wounded ſome of the Sepoys. As ſoon as the French troops were within 200 yards of the camp, they marched up briſkly to the entrenchments, which were inſtantly abandoned, and the enemy at the ſame time deſerted the cannon. The French having entered the camp, formed again, brought up their artillery, and began to fire upon the cavalry, who were ſoon flung into confuſion. The rout became general, and horſe and foot fled promiſcuouſly and with ſuch precipitation, that many puſhed directly into the river, where they were drowned. They continued to fire upon the fugitives whilſt any remained in the camp, and killed near a thouſand men: the Nabob himſelf made his

REFERENCES.

A. *The great Mountain of Gingee on the Top of which is a small Fort situated on an entire Rock & tenable with 10 Men against any open force which can be brought against it.— There is very fine Water in a cleft of the Rock.*

B. *St. Georges Mountain.*

C. *The English Mountain.*

D. *The Royal Battery.*

E. *The Pettah of Gingee.*

a. *Gate of the Second Wall*
b. *Gate of the Third Wall* } *leading to the Great Mountain*
c. *Gate of the Fourth Wall*

d. *Gate leading to Ternamaley.*

e. *Pondicherry Gate.*

f. *Port du diable or Devils Gate.*

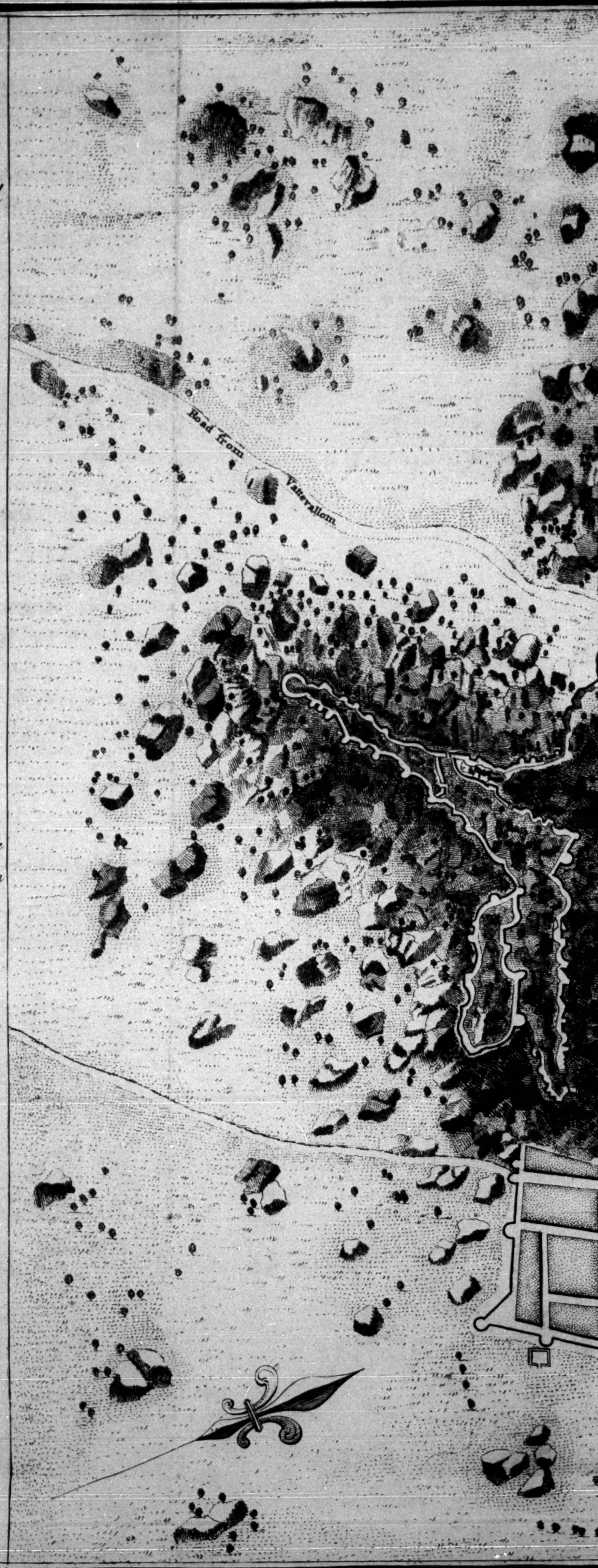
g. *Devils Tank.*

hhhh. *Barracks and lodgings of the French Garrison.*

i. *A Pagoda for Travelling Bramins.*

Scale of Yards

50 200 400



1. 155

Road to Old Cinge.

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B

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a

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GINGEE

Manpaleon

Tho.s Kitchin Sculpsit.

eſcape with great difficulty, and hurried away to Arcot, where he arrived with only two or three attendants. This victory was obtained by the French without the loſs of a man, and none were even wounded excepting thoſe who ſuffered by the exploſion of the tumbril. 1750.

Even this ſucceſs of their arms was not ſufficient to rouze Nazirjing out of the luxurious indolence in which he paſſed his time at Arcot: Mr. Dupleix reſolved to avail himſelf of his inactivity, and of the general conſternation which the defeat of Mahomed-ally had cauſed in the neighbouring countries, and immediately ordered his army to march and attack Gingee. This place was formerly the reſidence of a race of Morratoe kings, whoſe dominions extended from hence to the borders of the kingdom of Tanjore: theſe princes were the anceſtors of the famous Sevajee, who became king over all the Morratoe nations; and Sevajee himſelf, it is ſaid, was born at Gingee. The fortifications, as well as thoſe of Velore, bear the marks of the military character of the nation to which they belonged. A ſtrong wall flanked with towers, and extending near three miles, incloſes three mountains, which form nearly an equilateral triangle; they are ſteep and craggy, and on the top of each are built large and ſtrong forts; beſides there are many other fortifications upon the declivities: on the plain between the three mountains is a large town. The Indians, who eſteem no fortifications very ſtrong, unleſs placed upon high and difficult eminences, have always regarded Gingee as the ſtrongeſt fortreſs in the Carnatic.

A detachment of 250 Europeans, 1200 Sepoys, with four field pieces, commanded by Mr. Buſſy, ſet out before the reſt of the army, and advanced by ſlow marches, intending it is probable to attack the place by ſurprize; and the main body, commanded by Mr. d'Auteuil, followed at the diſtance of a forced march. When in ſight of Gingee, Mr. Buſſy found that 5000 of the fugitives from the defeat at Trivady had taken refuge here, and were encamped under the walls, with ſome pieces of artillery managed by Europeans. He therefore waited till the main body came in ſight, and then advanced and attacked theſe troops, who made very little reſiſtance, and quitted the field as ſoon as Mr. d'Auteuil came up. The French took their artillery, and killed moſt of the Europeans who ſerved it. They then proceeded to petard

1750. one of the gates of the outer wall on the plain, and got poſſeſſion of it a little before night, with the loſs of only three or four men, and the troops with all the artillery and baggage entered the town; where they immediately fortified themſelves by barricading the narrow ſtreets with the baggage-waggons, and by diſtributing the cannon in the larger avenues. In this ſituation they were expoſed to a continual fire from the three mountains: the Moors likewiſe threw great numbers of rockets, in hopes of ſetting fire to the combuſtible ſtores. The French bombarded the forts with mortars, and fired upon them with artillery until the moon ſet, which was the ſignal to ſtorm the fortifications on the mountains. None but the Europeans were deſtined to this hardy enterprize, who attacked all the three mountains at the ſame time, and found on each redoubts above redoubts, which they carried ſucceſſively ſword in hand, until they came to the ſummits, where the fortifications were ſtronger than thoſe they had ſurmounted; they nevertheleſs puſhed on and petarded the gates, and by day-break were in poſſeſſion of them all, having loſt only twenty men in the different attacks. On contemplating the difficulties they had conquered, they were aſtoniſhed at the rapidity of their own ſucceſs, and the extreme puſillanimity of the defenders; and indeed, had the attack been made in day-light, it could not have ſucceeded; for the Moors, as well as Indians, often defend themſelves very obſtinately behind ſtrong walls; but it ſhould ſeem that no advantages, either of number or ſituation, can countervail the terror with which they are ſtruck when attacked in the night.

The great reputation of the ſtrength of Gingee naturally exalted the fame of the French proweſs; and the loſs of this important fortreſs awakened Nazir-jing, and made him at laſt recollect that it was time to oppoſe the progreſs of an enemy who ſeemed capable of the boldeſt enterprizes. On his arrival at Arcot, he had ſent back to Gol-kondah two of his generals, with the greateſt part of the troops in his own pay, and had likewiſe permitted many of the Rajahs and Indian chiefs to return home with their troops. He now recalled all theſe forces; but hoping that the news of theſe preparations, with offers of moderate advantages, would induce the French to lay down their arms, he determined to try the effect of nego-

negociation before he took the field, and ſent two of his officers to Pondicherry, to treat with Mr. Dupleix: who now not only inſiſted on the reſtoration of Murzafa-jing to his liberty and eſtates, together with the appointment of Chunda-ſaheb in the Carnatic; but required alſo, that the city of Maſulipatnam, with its dependencies, ſhould be given up to the French company, and that their troops ſhould keep poſſeſſion of Gingee until Nazir-jing returned to Aureng-abad. 1750.

He ſcarcely expected that Nazir-jing would agree to theſe imperious terms, and by propoſing them had no other intention than to provoke him to take the field, for it was in the field alone that the projects he had formed againſt him could be carried into execution. His expectation was not diſappointed, for Nazir-jing immediately ordered his troops to march towards Gingee, and in the latter end of September joined them himſelf. His army was now much leſs numerous than when he entered the Carnatic; for very few of the chiefs who had been permitted to return to their own countries rejoined his ſtandard, and the troops which he had ſent to Gol-kondah were at too great a diſtance to march back into the province of Arcot before the rainy ſeaſon. His camp however conſiſted of 60,000 foot, 45,000 horſe, 700 elephants, and 360 pieces of cannon, and with the attendants, who in an Indian army always out-number the regular troops, contained a multitude little leſs than 300,000 men. This great body moved very ſlowly, and employed fifteen days in marching thirty miles; and when at the diſtance of ſixteen from Gingee, were prevented from getting any farther by the rains, which ſetting in with great violence, overflowed the whole country. The notion of expoſing the ſtandard of the empire to diſgrace, by appearing to retreat, prevented Nazir-jing from returning immediately to Arcot, and in two or three days his army was incloſed between two rivers, which were rendered almoſt impaſſable by the inundation. The communication with the neighbouring countries grew every day more difficult, proviſions became ſcarce, and the army ſuffering likewiſe from the inclemency of the weather, ſickneſs began to ſpread in the camp, and theſe diſtreſſes were likely to continue until the return of fair weather in December. The wavering temper of Nazir-jing grew impatient at theſe unexpected impediments, which protracted a war, in

1750. which he had already waſted a year, abſent from the reſt of the vaſt eſtates of his ſoubahſhip; and growing on a ſudden as anxious to quit the Carnatic as he had hitherto been fond of remaining in it, he renewed his correſpondence with Mr. Dupleix; and to avoid the diſgrace of ſeeing the French maintain their pretenſions in hoſtile defiance of his authority, he determined at laſt to give his patents for all the ceſſions they demanded, on condition that they ſhould hold them as his vaſſals.

Mr. Dupleix, who well knew the little faith to be repoſed in any engagements or profeſſions made by the princes of Indoſtan, neither ſuffered the offers of Nazir-jing to ſlacken his machinations with the diſcontented confederates in the army, nor his reliance on theſe to interrupt his negociation with their ſovereign. It was now the month of December, the rains were ceaſed, and the important moment was at hand, when it was abſolutely neceſſary to make the option between two very different methods of accompliſhing his views.

His correſpondence with the Pitan Nabobs had been carried on ſeven months, and they had engaged in their conſpiracy above twenty other officers of principal note; ſo that all together the confederates commanded one half of Nazir-jing's army: they repreſented, that if it was wonderful the ſecret had been ſo long kept by ſuch a number, every hour's delay now teemed with infinite riſques, ſince, in order to make the diſpoſitions neceſſary to inſure the ſucceſs of the enterprize, they were obliged every day to communicate to numbers of ſubaltern officers a ſecret, which, at the time of execution, muſt be known to all their troops.

At the ſame time came deputies from Nazir-jing to Pondicherry, who confidently affirmed that he would immediately ſign the treaty, break up his camp, and march out of the Carnatic.

Aſſured of ſucceſs by either of theſe events, Mr. Dupleix left chance to decide which ſhould take place, and preſſing Nazir-jing's deputies to produce the treaty ratified, he at the ſame time ordered the commander of the French troops at Gingee to march the very inſtant that the confederates ſhould ſignify to him that every thing was prepared to carry the long-meditated ſcheme into execution. The ſummons from the Pitan Nabobs arrived at Gingee before the ratification of the treaty at Pondicherry.

It

It was on the 4th of December that Mr. de la Touche, who now commanded the troops, began his march from Gingee with 800 Europeans, 3000 Sepoys, and ten field pieces. Some hints were given ſufficient to inſpire the ſoldiers with confidence, but Mr. de la Touche communicated the whole plan only to Mr. Buſſy and three or four of the principal officers. A guide ſent by the confederates conducted the army towards the quarter where the troops immediately commanded by Nazir-jing encamped, which, after a march of ſixteen miles, the French came in ſight of at four o'clock the next morning. The whole camp extended eighteen miles, every Nabob and Raja having a ſeparate quarter. Some cavalry going the rounds diſcovered the French battalion, and alarmed the advanced poſts, which were very ſoon diſperſed: the French then came up to the line of Nazir-jing's artillery, behind which were drawn up 25000 foot. Here the conflict became ſharper; for the firſt firing having ſpread the alarm, moſt of the generals devoted to Nazir-jing ſent their troops to the place of action; ſo that one body was no ſooner repulſed than another ſucceeded, and even many of the fugitives rallied, and formed again in their rear. The French never experienced with more ſucceſs the advantage of field pieces managed with the dexterity of quick firing; for this alone preſerved the troops in many a repeated charge from being broke by the cavalry. Thus ſurrounded, they gained their way very ſlowly, and after paſſing the line of cannon, were three hours advancing three miles into the camp. They had already diſperſed one half of the army, when they deſcried at ſome diſtance a vaſt body of horſe and foot drawn up in order, which extended as far as the eye could reach; and the French troops were on the point of loſing courage at the idea of having this formidable hoſt ſtill to encounter, when they perceived in the center of it an elephant bearing a large white flag. This was the ſignal of the confederates: it was immediately known by Mr. de la Touche, and explained to the troops, who expreſſed their joy by repeated ſhouts: they were ordered to halt, until ſome intelligence ſhould be received from the Pitan Nabobs, whoſe enſigns were now diſcerned approaching. 1750.

Nazir-jing,

1750. Nazir-jing, who had the day before ratified his treaty with Mr. Dupleix, and ſent it to Pondicherry, gave no credit to thoſe who firſt reported to him that his camp was attacked by the French troops: when convinced of it, the majeſtic ideas in which he had been educated, together with ſome degree of natural courage, did not ſuffer him to apprehend any danger from ſuch a handful of men, and calling their attack the mad attempt of a parcel of drunken Europeans, he ordered the officers who were near him to go and cut them to pieces, and at the ſame time ordered the head of Murzafa-jing to be ſtruck off and brought to him. Meſſengers arrived every minute to inform him of the progreſs which the French troops were making; and on enquiring what diſpoſitions were made by the different Nabobs and chiefs who followed his ſtandard, he was told, that the troops of Cudapa, Canoul, Candanore, of Miſſore, together with 20,000 of the Morattoes, were drawn up in order of battle, but had not yet advanced to repulſe the French. Enraged at this inaction of ſo large a part of his army, he mounted his elephant, and accompanied by his body-guard, advanced toward theſe troops; and the firſt he came to were thoſe of Cudapa, whoſe Nabob was at their head. Nazir-jing rode up to him, and told him, that he was a daſtardly coward, who dared not defend the Mogul's ſtandard againſt the moſt contemptible of enemies. The traitor replied, that he knew no enemy but Nazir-jing, and at the ſame time gave the ſignal to a fuſileer, who rode with him on the ſame elephant, to fire. The ſhot miſſed, on which Cudapa himſelf diſcharged a carabine, which lodged two balls in the heart of the unfortunate Nazir-jing, who fell dead on the plain. His guards were ſtruck with ſo much diſmay at this ſudden aſſaſſination, that few of them attempted to revenge it, and theſe few were ſoon diſperſed or cut down. The Nabob of Cudapa then ordered the head to be ſevered from the body, and haſted away with it to the tent of Murzafa-jing, of whoſe fate he had no anxiety; having engaged in the conſpiracy the officer to whoſe care the confinement of this prince had been entruſted: he found him freed from the fetters which he had now wore ſeven months, and hailing him Soubah of the Decan, preſented to him as a confirmation of the title,

title, the head of his uncle. Murzafa-jing ordered it to be fixed on a pole, and to be carried to the army of the confederates, whither he repaired himſelf attended by the Nabob. 1750.

The news was ſpread through the confederate army with great rapidity by the elevation of ſmall white banners: Mr. de la Touche diſcovered theſe ſignals very ſoon after he had ordered the French battalion to halt, and knew the meaning of them: a few minutes after came a horſeman at full ſpeed, ſent from Murzafa-jing; upon which Mr. Buſſy was immediately diſpatched to compliment him, and receive his orders. The death of Nazir-jing was no ſooner known amongſt his troops than the greateſt part of them came in crowds to range themſelves under the banner of his ſucceſſor, and by nine o'clock in the morning every ſword was ſheathed, notwithſtanding that three brothers of the murdered prince were in the camp. The new Soubah proceeded to the tent of ſtate, where he received homage from moſt of the great officers who the day before had paid it to his uncle. But the prime miniſter Shanavaz Khan was not of the number; he, dreading the reſentment of Murzafa-jing, for having ſuffered him to remain ſo long in priſon, made his eſcape to the fort of Chittaput: and Mahomed-ally the open rival of Chunda-ſaheb knew he had every thing to apprehend from this revolution: fortunately his quarters were at a conſiderable diſtance from the ſcene of this cataſtrophe, and the inſtant he heard of it, he mounted the fleeteſt of his horſes, and accompanied only by two or three attendants, haſted with the utmoſt precipitation to gain his fortreſs of Tritchanopoly.

In the evening, Mr. de la Touche, accompanied by all his officers, went in ceremony to pay his reſpects to Murzafa-jing, by whom they were received with demonſtrations of gratitude worthy the important ſervice they had rendered him. The oriental compliments paid to them on this occaſion, were, for once, not deſtitute of truth; for excepting the conqueſts of Cortez and Pizarro in the new world, never did ſo ſmall a force decide the fate of ſo large a ſovereignty. The dominions of the Great Mogul conſiſt of 22 provinces, ſix of which, comprehending more than one third of the empire, compoſe the ſoubah-

1750. ſhip of the Decan; the viceroy of which diviſion is by a title ſtill more emphatic than that of Soubah, ſtiled, in the language of the court, Nizam al-muluck, or protector of the empire: his juriſdiction extends in a line nearly north and ſouth, from Brampore to cape Comorin, and eaſtward from that line to the ſea. Gol-kondah, one of theſe provinces, comprehends what Europeans call the nabobſhips of Arcot, Canoul, Cudapa, Raja-mandry, and Chicacol; ſo that there were under Nizam al-muluck thirty ſuch Nabobs, beſides ſeveral powerful Indian kings, and many others of leſſer note: the number of ſubjects in the Decan probably exceeds thirty five millions. Of this great dominion, Murzafa-jing, from a priſoner in irons, and condemned to death, ſaw himſelf in the revolution of a few hours declared almoſt the abſolute lord, and with the proſpect of maintaining poſſeſſion of it; for his pretenſions were highly ſupported by the Vizir at Delhi: but the ſun did not ſet before the joy inſpired by this ſudden change of his fortunes was tainted with anxiety; for the Pitan Nabobs began to demand imperiouſly the rewards they expected for the parts they had contributed to his elevation: their pretenſions were exorbitant, and even inconſiſtent with the principles of the Mogul government. It is not to be doubted that Murzafa-jing had, during his impriſonment, promiſed every thing they thought proper to aſk, not intending to fulfil more than what the neceſſity of his affairs ſhould oblige him to; but the preſence of the French troops now rendered him little apprehenſive of their reſentment, and to them alone he entruſted the guard of his perſon, and the care of his treaſures: however, not to irritate the Nabobs, by an abſolute rejection of their claims, he told them that his engagements with the French nation would not permit him to determine any thing without the advice and participation of Mr. Dupleix, and encouraged them to hope that every thing would be ſettled to their ſatisfaction at Pondicherry.

Here the tidings of Nazir-jing's death, and of the enthronement of his nephew, arrived in the afternoon: it was firſt brought to Chunda-ſaheb, who forgetting the ceremonies and attendance without which perſons of his rank never appear in public, quitted his houſe alone, and ran to the palace, where he was the firſt who announced it to Mr. Dupleix.

They

They embraced with the agitations of two friends eſcaped from a ſhip- 1750.
wreck: the news was proclaimed to the town by a general diſcharge of the artillery; and in the evening Mr. Dupleix held a court, and received the compliments of all the inhabitants. The next day a Te Deum was ſung in full ceremony, and three deputies were ſent to compliment Murzafa-jing: and two days afterwards another deputation carried ſix coſtly ſerpaws; theſe are garments which are preſented ſometimes by ſuperiors in token of protection, and ſometimes by inferiors in token of homage; and with the ſerpaws was carried a white flag on an elephant, which were likewiſe preſented. Murzafa-jing pretended to be ſo much pleaſed with the compliment of the flag, that he ordered it ſhould in future be always diſplayed in the midſt of the enſigns of his ſovereignty.

On the 15th of December at night he came to the gates with a numerous and ſplendid attendance, amongſt which were moſt of the principal lords of his court: he was received by Mr. Dupleix and Chunda-ſaheb in a tent without the city; and diſcovered great emotions of joy in this interview. It was intended, in deference to his rank, that he ſhould have entered the town on his elephant; but the animal was too large to paſs under the beam to which the draw-bridge was ſuſpended; whereupon he politely deſired to go in the ſame palankin with Mr. Dupleix to the palace: here they had a private conference, in which he explained the difficulties he lay under from the pretenſions of the Pitan Nabobs, and afterwards retired to the houſe appointed for his reception, where he was expected with impatience by his mother, his wife, and his ſon.

The next day the three Pitan Nabobs came into the town, and deſired Mr. Dupleix to determine what rewards they ſhould receive for the ſervices they had rendered: they demanded, that the arrears of tribute, which they had not paid for three years, ſhould be remitted; that the countries which they governed, together with ſeveral augmentations of territory they now demanded, ſhould in future be exempted from tribute to the Mogul government; and that one half of the riches found in Nazir-jing's treaſury ſhould be delivered to them.

1750. It was known that all the lords of Murzafa-jing's court waited to meaſure their demands by the conceſſions which he ſhould make to the Pitan Nabobs: if theſe obtained all they aſked, the whole of his dominion would ſcarcely ſuffice to ſatisfy the other claimants in the ſame proportion; and, on the other hand, if they were not ſatisfied, it was much to be apprehended that they would revolt; Mr. Dupleix therefore poſtponed all other conſiderations to this important diſcuſſion, and conferred with the Pitans for ſeveral days ſucceſſively. He acknowledged the great obligations Murzafa-jing lay under to them for their conduct in the revolution; but inſiſted that he himſelf had contributed as much to it as they, and was therefore entitled to as great rewards, and that if ſuch conceſſions were extorted, the Soubah, would no longer be able to maintain the dignity he had acquired: intending therefore to ſet the example of moderation, he, in the laſt conference, told them, that he ſhould relinquiſh his own pretenſions to any ſhare of the treaſures, or to any other advantages which might diſtreſs the affairs of Murzafa-jing. The Pitans finding him determined to ſupport the cauſe of that prince at all events, agreed amongſt themſelves to appear ſatisfied with the terms he preſcribed: theſe were, that their governments ſhould be augmented by ſome diſtricts much leſs than thoſe they demanded: that their private revenues ſhould be increaſed by the addition of ſome lands belonging to the crown given to them in farm at low rates; and that the half of the money found in Nazir-jing's treaſury ſhould be divided amongſt them; but the jewels were reſerved to Murzafa-jing.

This agreement was ſigned by the Nabobs, who likewiſe took on the Alcoran an oath of allegiance to the Soubah; declaring at the ſame time that Nizam-al-muluck himſelf had never been able to obtain from them this mark of ſubmiſſion: and he on his part ſwore to protect them whilſt they remained faithful.

All diſſentions being now in appearance reconciled, feaſts and entertainments enſued, in which Mr. Dupleix ſpared no expence to raiſe in his gueſts a high opinion of the grandeur of his nation by the ſplendour

with

with which he affected to repreſent his monarch. Amidſt theſe rejoic- 1750.
ings was performed the ceremony of inſtalling the Soubah in the throne of the Decan: it was very pompous; and Mr. Dupleix appeared, next to the Soubah, the principal actor in it; for in the dreſs of a Mahomedan lord of Indoſtan, with which the prince himſelf had clothed him, he was the firſt who paid homage; after which he was declared governor for the Mogul of all the countries lying to the ſouth of the river Kriſtna; that is, of a territory little leſs than France itſelf: he likewiſe received the title of munſub or commander of 7000 horſe, with the permiſſion of bearing amongſt his enſigns, that of the fiſh; neither of which diſtinctions is ever granted excepting to perſons of the firſt note in the empire: It was ordered, that no money ſhould be current in the Carnatic, but ſuch as was coined at Pondicherry; and that the Mogul's revenues from all the countries of which Mr. Dupleix was now appointed vicegerent ſhould be remitted to him, who was to account for them to the Soubah; and Chunda-ſaheb was declared Nabob of Arcot and its dependencies, under the authority of Mr. Dupleix. All the Mogul and Indian lords paid homage, and made preſents: penſions, titles of honour, and governments, were beſtowed on thoſe who had aſſiſted in the revolution, or had otherwiſe merited favour; but he granted none of theſe to any, but ſuch as preſented requeſts ſigned by the hand of Mr. Dupleix.

The immediate advantages ariſing to the French Eaſt India company by theſe conceſſions, were the poſſeſſion of a territory near Pondicherry producing annually 96000 rupees; of that near Karical in the kingdom of Tanjore, valued at 106,000; and the city of Maſulipatnam with its dependencies, of which the yearly income amounted to 144,000 rupees; in all, a revenue of 38000 pounds ſterling, according to the accounts publiſhed by the French, which there is reaſon to believe are greatly extenuated. But theſe advantages were ſmall in compariſon of thoſe which Mr. Dupleix expected to obtain from the extenſive authority with which he was now inveſted; and altho' not one of theſe grants could, according to the conſtitution of the Mogul empire, be of any validity, unleſs confirmed by the emperor, he, without ſcruple, aſſumed them

as

1750. as lawful acquiſitions: it is certain that, imperfect as they were, they ſerved greatly to raiſe the reputation of his importance in the Carnatic, where the Soubah of the ſouthern provinces is more reſpected than the Great Mogul himſelf. Even Mahomed-ally appeared to be confounded by theſe conceſſions; and from Tritchanopoly, to which place he had eſcaped with great difficulty, impowered the Morratoe, Raja Janagi, to treat with Mr. Dupleix for the ſurrender of the city, and offered, as the French affirm with great confidence in more than one memoir, to relinquiſh his pretenſions to the nabobſhip of Arcot, provided Murzafa-jing would give him ſome other government in the territory of Gol-kondah, and leave him in poſſeſſion of his treaſures, without demanding any account of his father An'war-adean Khan's adminiſtration. Mr. Dupleix agreed to theſe terms, and imagined that they would very ſoon be carried into execution: ſo that nothing now retarded the departure of Murzafa-jing to Gol-kondah and Aureng-abad, where his preſence became every day more neceſſary. As the power of Mr. Dupleix depended on the preſervation of this prince, whoſe government in a country ſubject to ſuch ſudden revolutions, probably would not be free from commotions, he propoſed that a body of French troops ſhould accompany him until he was firmly eſtabliſhed in the ſoubahſhip; and from experience of the ſervices they were capable of rendering, this offer was accepted without heſitation.

The treaſures of Nazir-jing were computed at two millions ſterling, and the jewels at 500,000 pounds: in the partition of this wealth, the private fortune of Mr. Dupleix was not forgot, notwithſtanding the offer he had made in the conference with the Pitan Nabobs to relinquiſh all pretenſions to any private advantage by the revolution; for, beſides many valuable jewels, it is ſaid, that he received 200,000 pounds in money. Murzafa-jing gave 50,000 pounds to be divided among the officers and troops who had fought at the battle of Gingee, and paid 50,000 pounds more into the treaſury of the French company, for the expences they had incurred in the war. The long experience of Shanavaz Khan in the adminiſtration of the

Decan

Decan rendering his knowledge neceſſary to the inſtruction of a new regency, he was invited by Murzafa-jing to enter into his ſervice, and came from Chittaput and made his ſubmiſſion. 1750.

Mr. Dupleix and Murzafa-jing ſeparated with profeſſions of mutual gratitude and attachment, and the army left the neighbourhood of Pondicherry on the 4th of January; the French detachment was commanded by Mr. Buſſy, and conſiſted of 300 Europeans and 2000 Sepoys with ten field pieces. The march was continued without interruption until the latter end of the month, when they arrived in the territory of Cudapa, about ſixty leagues from Pondicherry. There ſome ſtraggling horſemen quarrelled with the inhabitants of a village, and, with the uſual licentiouſneſs of the cavalry of Indoſtan, ſet fire not only to that, but likewiſe to two or three other villages in the neighbourhood. The Nabob of Cudapa, pretending to be greatly exaſperated by this outrage, ordered a body of his troops to revenge it, by attacking the rear-guard of Murzafa-jing's diviſion. A ſkirmiſh enſued, and the troops of Cudapa overpowered by numbers, retreated to their main body. Their attack, whether by chance or deſign is uncertain, had been directed againſt that part of the army which eſcorted the women; ſo that this defiance was aggravated by the moſt flagrant affront that the dignity of an Indian prince could receive: for the perſons of women of rank are deemed ſacred, even in war. Murzafa-jing no ſooner heard of this inſult, than he ordered his whole army to halt, put himſelf at the head of a large body of troops, and prepared to march againſt the Nabob of Cudapa. Mr. Buſſy, who had been inſtructed to avoid if poſſible all occaſions of committing hoſtilities in the rout to Golkondah, interpoſed, and with much difficulty prevailed on him to ſuſpend his reſentment, until the Nabob explained the reaſons of his conduct. Meſſengers were ſent both from Murzafa-jing and Mr. Buſſy: to thoſe of Murzafa-jing the Nabob of Cudapa anſwered, that he waited for their maſter ſword in hand; but to Mr. Buſſy he ſent word, that he was ready to make ſubmiſſions to the Soubah through his mediation. The difference of theſe anſwers ſtung this prince to the quick, and nothing could now ſtop him from proceeding to take inſtant revenge. 1751.

1751. He told Mr. Buſſy, who ſtill attempted to calm him, that every Pitan in his army was a traitor born; and in a very few minutes the truth of his aſſertion was confirmed: for his ſpies brought intelligence, that the troops of all the three Nabobs were drawn up together in battle-array; that they were poſted to defend a defile which lay in the rout of the army, and that ſeveral poſts leading to the defile were defended by cannon, which had been brought there ſome days before. Theſe preparations left no doubt that the rebellion of the Nabobs was premeditated; and indeed they had began to concert it from the very hour that they had taken the oath of allegiance in Pondicherry. Murzafa-jing, in full march at the head of his cavalry, grew impatient of the ſlow pace of the French battalion, and hurried away to attack the rebels without their aſſiſtance. The Pitan Nabobs had in their ſervice many of their own countrymen, who, although much inferior in number, ſtood the ſhock with great intrepidity, and had even repulſed his troops before Mr. Buſſy came up. The fire of the French artillery, after a ſevere ſlaughter, changed the fortune of the day, and obliged the Pitans to retreat; when Murzafa-jing, irritated by the repulſe he had ſuſtained, rallied his troops, and heedleſs of the remonſtrances of Mr. Buſſy, purſued the fugitives, and left once more the French battalion behind, who endeavoured to keep ſight of him, but in vain: They ſoon after came up to ſome of his troops, who were cutting to pieces the body of the Nabob of Savanore dead on the ground. The Nabob of Cudapa had fled out of the field deſperately wounded, and in purſuing him, Murzafa-jing came up with the Nabob of Canoul, who finding he could not eſcape, turned with the handful of troops that ſurrounded him, and puſhed on towards the elephant of his enemy. Exaſperated by this defiance, the young prince made a ſign to his troops to leave the perſon of the Nabob to be attacked by himſelf. The two elephants were driven up cloſe to each other, and Murzafa-jing had his ſword uplifted to ſtrike, when his antagoniſt thruſt his javelin, which pierced his forehead with ſo much force that the point entered the brain; he fell back dead: a thouſand arms were aimed at the Nabob, who was in the ſame inſtant mortally

wounded; and the troops, not ſatisfied with this atonement, fell with fury on thoſe of the Nabob, whom they ſoon overpowered, and cut to pieces. The French battalion was preparing to hail them returning from the field with acclamations of victory, when the news of Murzafa-jing's fate ſtruck them with the deepeſt conſternation. They immediately marched back to the camp, which they found in the utmoſt confuſion; for large arrears of pay were due to the army; and it was to be apprehended that the ſoldiery would mutiny and plunder, and every general ſuſpected all the others of ſiniſter intentions. 1750.

But this diſaſter affected no intereſt more ſeverely than that of the French; for by it were annihilated all the advantages which were gained by the murder of Nazir-jing; and Mr. Buſſy was left without pretenſions to interfere any farther in the concerns of the Decan. This officer ſaw all the deſperate conſequences of his preſent ſituation without loſing his preſence of mind: he aſſembled the generals and miniſters, and found them as ready as himſelf to admit of any expedient by which the loſs of their ſovereign might be repaired: beſides the ſon of Murzafa-jing, an infant, there were in the camp three brothers of Nazir-jing, whom that prince had brought into the Carnatic under ſtrict confinement, to prevent their engaging in revolts during his abſence; and after his death they were continued under the ſame reſtraint by Murzafa-jing. Mr. Buſſy propoſed, that the vacant dignity of Soubah ſhould be conferred on the eldeſt of the brothers, by name Salabat-jing; and the generals, from a ſenſe of the convulſions to which the reign of a minor would be expoſed, readily acquieſced to the excluſion of Murzafa-jing's ſon, and unanimouſly approved of Mr. Buſſy's advice. It was immediately carried into execution, the three princes were releaſed from their confinement, and Salabat-jing was proclaimed Soubah of the Decan, with the univerſal conſent of the army. His elevation, and the ſignal cataſtrophe of this day, in which three of the conſpirators of Nazir-jing's death fell in battle fighting againſt each other, were regarded by many as a retribution of the divine juſtice.

1751. Mr. Buſſy immediately adviſed Mr. Dupleix of this revolution, and of the diſpoſitions which he had made in favour of Sallabat-jing, who agreed to confirm all the ceſſions made by his predeceſſor, and to give ſtill greater advantages to the French nation. On theſe conditions, Mr. Dupleix acknowledged his right to the Soubahſhip, with as much ardor as he had aſſerted that of Murzafa-jing; and as ſoon as this approbation was received, the army left the country of Cudapa, and continued its march to Gol-kondah.

The END *of the* SECOND BOOK.

BOOK

BOOK III.

THE nations of Coromandel, accuſtomed to ſee Europeans aſſuming no other character than that of merchants, and paying as much homage to the Mogul government as was exacted from themſelves, were aſtoniſhed at the rapid progreſs of the French arms, and beheld with admiration the abilities of Mr. Dupleix, who had ſhewn himſelf at once as great an adept in the politics of Indoſtan, as if he had been educated a Mahomedan lord at the court of Delhi; and knowing the rivality which exiſted between the two nations, they were equally ſurprized at the indolence of the Engliſh, who, ſince the retreat of their troops from Mahomed-ally at Trivady, had taken no meaſures to interrupt the progreſs of his ſchemes; and indeed this inactivity at ſo critical a conjuncture, is difficult to be accounted for, unleſs it be imputed to their dread of engaging, without authority from England, in open hoſtilities againſt the French immediately after the concluſion of a general peace in Europe. Whatever might be the motives, their diſpoſition to remain in peace was ſo great, that major Lawrence himſelf, who commanded the troops, and had great influence in their councils, left Fort St. David on ſome private concerns, and ſailed for England in the month of October. The aſſaſſination of Nazir-jing and its conſequences overwhelmed them with aſtoniſhment, and made them ſenſible, when too late, of the errors they had committed in not continuing a body of their troops with the army of that prince. There remained, even after his death, a means of ſnatching from the conquerors their laurels, and the fruits of their

1751.

1751. victory; for Murzafa-jing, with his uncle's treaſures, moved from Gingee with only a detachment of his own army and 300 of the French troops, who marching without apprehenſion of danger, obſerved little military order: Mr. Benjamin Robins, at that time juſt arrived from England to ſuperintend the company's fortifications as engineer-general, propoſed that 800 Europeans ſhould march out and attack them in their return; diſcovering in this advice the ſame extenſive ſagacity which has diſtinguiſhed his ſpeculations in the abſtruſer ſciences, and which renders his name an honour to our country; for there is the greateſt probability that the attack, if well conducted, would have ſucceeded, and the treaſures of Nazir-jing have been carried to Fort St. David inſtead of Pondicherry; but the Engliſh were not as yet ſufficiently inflamed by the ſpirit of enterprize, even to comprehend the feaſibility of an attempt which carried the appearance of ſo much hardineſs as this propoſed by Mr. Robins.

Mahomed-ally, ſtill more perplexed and diſpirited than the Engliſh, had no hopes of preſervation but in their aſſiſtance, which he preſſingly ſollicited at the ſame time that he was capitulating with Mr. Dupleix for the ſurrender of Tritchanopoly: and the Engliſh, apprehenſive of the concluſion of ſuch a treaty, which would have left them without any pretence to oppoſe Mr. Dupleix and Chunda-ſaheb, at laſt took the reſolution of ſending once more to Tritchanopoly a detachment to encourage Mahomed-ally to defend the city; it conſiſted of 280 Europeans, with 300 Sepoys, who arrived there under the command of captain Cope in the beginning of February.

About the ſame time Chunda-ſaheb marched from Pondicherry with an army of 8000 men, horſe and foot, which he had levied in the province, joined by a battalion of 800 Europeans; and with this force proceeded to Arcot, where he received homage as Nabob, and there was ſcarce a ſtrong hold to the north of the river Coleroon of which the governor did not acknowledge his ſovereignty. Mortiz-ally of Velore, who had temporized, and affected obedience to Nazir-jing from the time that prince entered the Carnatic, immediately after his death reaſſumed his connexion with his relation Chunda-ſaheb, and was the firſt to reacknowledge him; and his example determined moſt of the other chiefs.

The

The countries lying between the Coleroon and the extremity of the peninſula did not openly throw off their obedience to Mahomed-ally, but were lukewarm in his intereſts: he therefore ſent 2500 horſe, and 3000 Peons, under the command of his brother Abdul-rahim, together with a detachment of 30 Europeans, to ſettle the government of Tinavelly, a city lying 160 miles to the ſouth of Tritchanopoly, and capital of a territory which extends to cape Comorin. Abdul-rahim met with no reſiſtance from the people of the country, but found it difficult to reſtrain his troops from revolt; for moſt of the officers being renters, were indebted to their prince as much as he was indebted to their ſoldiers, and expected as the price of their defection that Chunda-ſaheb would not only remit what they owed to the government, but likewiſe furniſh money for the pay of their troops. However, great promiſes, and the vigilance of lieutenant Innis, who commanded the Engliſh detachment, prevented them from carrying their ſchemes into execution; but the ſame ſpirit of revolt manifeſted itſelf more openly in another part of Mahomed-ally's dominions. 1751.

Allum Khan, a ſoldier of fortune, who had formerly been in the ſervice of Chunda-ſaheb, and afterwards in that of the king of Tanjore, had lately left this prince and came to Madura, where his reputation as an excellent officer ſoon gained him influence and reſpect, which he employed to corrupt the garriſon, and ſucceeded ſo well, that the troops created him governor, and conſented to maintain the city under his authority for Chunda-ſaheb, whom he acknowledged as his ſovereign.

The country of Madura lies between thoſe of Tritchanopoly and Tinavelly, and is as extenſive as either of them. The city was in ancient times the reſidence of a prince who was ſovereign of all the three. Its form is nearly a ſquare of 4000 yards in circumference, fortified with a double wall and a ditch. The loſs of this place, by cutting off the communication between Tritchanopoly and the countries of Tinavelly, deprived Mahomed-ally of more than one half of his dominions: on receiving the news, captain Cope offered his ſervice to retake it. His detachment was ill equipped for a ſiege, for they had brought no battering cannon from Fort St. David, and there were but two ſerviceable pieces

1751. pieces in the city: with one of theſe, three field pieces, two cohorns, and 150 Europeans, he marched away, accompanied by 600 of the Nabob's cavalry, commanded by another of his brothers Abdul-wahab Khan; and on the day that they arrived in ſight of Madura, they were joined by the army returning from Tinavelly. There were ſeveral large breaches in the outward wall; the gun fired through one of them on the inward wall, and in two days demoliſhed a part of it, although not ſufficient to make the breach acceſſible without the help of faſcines. Difficult as it was, it was neceſſary either to ſtorm it immediately, or to relinquiſh the ſiege, for all the ſhot of the great gun were expended. The Sepoys, encouraged by a diſtribution of ſome money, and a promiſe of much more if the place was taken, went to the attack with as much ſpirit as the Europeans. The firſt wall was paſſed without reſiſtance, and at the foot of the breach in the ſecond appeared three champions, one of them a very bulky man in compleat armour, who fought manfully with their ſwords, and wounded ſeveral of the forlorn hope, but were at laſt with difficulty killed. Whilſt the troops were mounting the breach, they were ſeverely annoyed by arrows, ſtones, and the fire of match-locks, notwithſtanding which they gained the parapet; and here the enemy had on each ſide of the entrance flung up a mound of earth, on which they had laid horizontally ſome palm trees ſeparated from each other, and through theſe intervals they thruſt their pikes. At the bottom of the rampart within the wall they had flung up a ſtrong retrenchment with a ditch, and three or four thouſand men appeared ready to defend this work with all kinds of arms. The troops, wounded by the pikes as faſt as they mounted, were not able to keep poſſeſſion of the parapet, and after fighting until ninety men were diſabled, relinquiſhed the attack. Four Europeans were killed: the Sepoys ſuffered more, and four of their captains were deſperately wounded. The next day captain Cope prepared to return to Tritchanopoly, and blew the cannon to pieces, for want of means to carry it away. The troops of Mahomed-ally, encouraged by this repulſe, no longer concealed their diſaffection, and 500 horſe, with 1000 Peons, went over to Allum Kkan before the Engliſh broke up their camp, and two or three

three days after near 2000 more horſemen deſerted likewiſe to the enemy. At the ſame time that the army and dominions of Mahomed-ally were thus reduced, he received advice that Chunda-ſaheb was preparing to march from Arcot to beſiege Tritchanopoly; he now more ſtrenuouſly repreſented his diſtreſſes to the preſidency of Fort St. David, offering to give the company a territory of conſiderable revenue contiguous to the bounds of Madraſs, and promiſing likewiſe to defray all the expences of their aſſiſtance. 1751.

It was the time of harveſt, which on the coaſt of Coromandel is divided equally between the lord of the land and the cultivator; and Mr. Dupleix affected to diſtinguiſh his new acquiſitions, by ordering ſmall white flags to be planted almoſt in every field to which he laid claim: theſe flags were ſeen from Fort St. David extended round the bounds, and ſome of them were even planted within the company's territory: the inſolence of theſe marks of ſovereignty ſtung the Engliſh, and rouzed them from their lethargy: they concluded that Mr. Dupleix, from the ſame ſpirit of dominion, would not fail to impoſe extravagant duties on their trade paſſing through the countries of which he had taken poſſeſſion; and this reflection convincing them that their own ruin would be blended with that of Mahomed-ally, they determined to accept the offers he made, and to ſupport his cauſe to the utmoſt of their power.

In the beginning of April a body of 500 Europeans, of which 50 were cavalry, and 100 Caffres, 1000 Sepoys, with eight field pieces, took the field under the command of captain Gingen, who was ordered to remain near Fort St. David until he ſhould be joined by Mahomed-ally's troops from Tritchanopoly: for the Engliſh were determined not to appear as principals in the war. After waiting ſix weeks, captain Gingen was joined by 600 horſe and 1000 Peans; he then proceeded to the weſtward, and came in ſight of Verdachelum, a large and ſtrong pagoda garriſoned by 300 of Chunda-ſaheb's troops: this place is ſituated 40 miles from the coaſt, and commands the high road; the reduction of it was therefore neceſſary to preſerve the communication with Fort St. David: the garriſon were ſummoned by the Nabob's officer to deliver up

1751. up the place: they refuſed, and mann'd the walls. The Engliſh troops, under cover of a bank, fired at them for ſome hours, but finding that this attack made little impreſſion, they prepared towards evening to make a general aſſault, when the ſight of the ſcaling ladders induced the governor to ſurrender. Leaving a garriſon of twenty Europeans and fifty Sepoys in the pagoda, they continued their march to the weſtward, and were ſoon after joined by 100 Europeans detached by captain Cope from Tritchanopoly, and 2000 horſe, with 2000 foot, the remainder of the Nabob's troops, under the command of his brother Abdul-wahab Khan.

The army, after this junction came in ſight of that of Chunda-ſaheb, which lay encamped in the neighbourhood of Vol-kondah. This is a very ſtrong fortreſs, 90 miles from the coaſt, ſituated in the great road between Arcot and Tritchanopoly: its principal defence is a rock 200 feet high, and about a mile in circumference at the bottom, where it is encloſed by a high and ſtrong wall, moſtly cut out of the ſolid rock; near the ſummit it is encloſed by another wall, and the ſummit itſelf is ſurrounded by a third: adjoining to the eaſtern ſide of the rock, on the plain, is a fort built of ſtone, contiguous to which lies a town ſlenderly fortified with a mud wall. The river Val-aru, after running due eaſt, forms an angle about a mile to the north of Vol-kondah, where it turns to the ſouth, and in this direction paſſes cloſe by the weſtern ſide of the rock, and winding round it, reaſſumes its courſe to the eaſtward along the ſouthern ſide of the fort and town. Captain Gingen encamped in a large grove about a mile and half to the ſouthweſt of Vol-kondah: and in this ſituation the advanced guards were in ſight of thoſe of Chunda-ſaheb, whoſe camp lay about four miles to the north of that part of the river which runs eaſt before it ſtrikes to the ſouth. Here he had been ſome days endeavouring to perſuade the governor to put him in poſſeſſion of the fort; and Abdul-wahab Khan, equally ſenſible of the importance of the place, made offers likewiſe to induce him to deliver it up to Mahomed-ally. The man knowing the advantage of his poſt, had given evaſive anſwers to Chunda-ſaheb; and replied to Abdul-wahab Khan, that

that he waited to ſee a battle before he gave up his fort to either; but neverthelefs he entered into a negociation with both, which laſted a fortnight, and during this time neither of the armies made any motion: at length captain Gingen, irritated by his prevarications, determined to treat him as an enemy; but before he proceeded to hoſtilities, poſted the army about a mile to the northweſt of the rock of Vol-kondah, where they were in readineſs to intercept the approach of Chunda-ſaheb; for it was not doubted that the governor would call him to his aſſiſtance, as ſoon as he found himſelf attacked. This diſpoſition being made, a large detachment of Europeans and Sepoys marched about nine in the evening, who eaſily got over the mud-wall, and then ſetting fire to the town, advanced to the ſtone fort; but this they found too ſtrong to be aſſaulted before a breach was made, and therefore returned to the camp. The governor, as was foreſeen, immediately ſent a meſſenger to acquaint Chunda-ſaheb that he was ready to admit his troops into the place. 1751.

The next morning, at break of day, the French battalion was diſcovered marching towards the rock along the bed of the river, which was almoſt dry; and the Indian army of Chunda-ſaheb, which had been augmented at Arcot to 12000 horſe and 5000 Sepoys, appeared at the ſame time. Notwithſtanding theſe motions, the Engliſh officers waſted ſo much time in deliberation, that the French battalion arrived near the foot of the rock, and formed before any attempt was made to intercept them; when too late, it was determined to give the enemy battle.

When troops are drawn out for action, the greateſt fault a general can commit is, to give them cauſe to ſuſpect that he is doubtful what orders to give; for they being, as a multitude, incapable of nice diſtinctions, will infallibly impute his ſuſpence either to fear or incapacity, and commonly to both: ſo that it is ſafer to order them with confidence to retreat, than to lead them to the attack with the appearance of diffidence. The troops had perceived the heſitations of the council of war, and were ſo much affected by them that they marched to the enemy with irreſolution. As they approached a cannonade enſued, and a ſhot ſtruck one of the French tumbrils, which blowing up wounded ſome of

1751. their Europeans, and frightened ſo much a hundred more, who were poſted near it, that they ran away with Mr. d'Auteuil at their head to the fort of Vol-kondah, where they were admitted; and from hence they immediately began to fire from 14 pieces of cannon upon the Engliſh battalion. This unexpected cannonade, notwithſtanding that moſt of their ſhot flew too high, flung the troops into diſorder, and ſome of the officers likewiſe diſcovering fear, the whole battalion were ſeized with a panic. The captains Gingen, Dalton, Kirkpatrick, and lieutenant Clive, endeavoured to rally them, but in vain; for they retreated in great confuſion, without ſtopping until they reached the camp. Abdul-wahab Khan rode up and upbraided them in the ſtrongeſt terms for their cowardice, bidding them take example from his own troops, who ſtill ſtood their ground: and to compleat the ſhame of this day, the company of Caffres remained likewiſe on the field for ſome time, and then marched off in good order, bringing away the dead and wounded. Had they behaved with common reſolution, the enemy would probably have been defeated; for Abdul-wahab Khan had prevailed on one of their generals, who commanded 4000 horſe, to come over to him on the field of battle, which body was obſerved to ſeparate from the reſt as the enemy approached; and this appearance of defection flung Chunda-ſaheb into ſuch perplexity, that he did not venture to purſue the Engliſh, over whom he would otherwiſe have had every advantage.

The panic did not ceaſe with the day, but operated ſo ſtrongly, that captain Gingen, to avoid worſe conſequences, determined to remove the troops from the ſight of an enemy they ſo much dreaded, and at midnight broke up the camp, and marching with great expedition in the road leading to Tritchanopoly, arrived the next evening at the ſtreights of Utatoor, diſtant about 25 miles from that city: a part of the range of mountains which bounds the province of Arcot to the weſtward, forms one ſide of theſe ſtreights, and ſome hills about a mile to the eaſt the other: the ground for ſeveral miles farther eaſtward is covered with rocks, which render it impaſſable to an army encumbered with artillery. The company of grenadiers conſiſting of 100 men, together with 100 Caffres and Topaſſes, with two field pieces, were left under the com-

command of captain Dalton, in a village at the entrance of the ſtreights: the main body encamped in the valley; and in order to ſecure the rear of the camp, ſome Europeans were placed in the fort of Utatoor, which lies about two miles ſouth of the ſtreights. 1751.

The next day the enemy took the ſame rout, and for the conveniency of water halted about eight miles from the ſtreights. A few days after about 100 of their horſe appeared in ſight of the village, riding about and flouriſhing their ſabres in defiance: captain Gingen, with ſeveral of the principal officers of the battalion, happened at this time to be there, who were ſo much exaſperated at this bravado, that ſeven of them mounted their horſes, and ſallied with 12 troopers and 100 Sepoys to attack the party: they retreated as the Engliſh approached, ſometimes halting as if they intended to ſtand the ſhock, and in this manner led them three miles from the village, when they galloped away at full ſpeed and diſappeared. The Engliſh had not proceeded a mile in their return to the camp, when they diſcovered a body of near 3000 horſe coming out of a neighbouring thicket, where they were poſted in ambuſcade, and from hence had detached the party which appeared at the village. The Sepoys were ordered to diſperſe, and the horſemen forming into a compact body, puſhed forwards ſo briſkly, that only four or five of the enemy's ſquadrons had time to fling themſelves in their way: theſe were attacked ſword in hand, and the troops cut their way through, but not without the loſs of lieutenant Maſkelyne and three troopers, who were made priſoners; the reſt gained the village; but all the Sepoys were either killed or taken. Mr. Maſkelyne was ſoon after releaſed by Chunda-ſaheb, to whom he gave his parole; for the French, who were at this time as cautious as the Engliſh of appearing principals in the war, affected to have no authority over the priſoners. The ill ſucceſs of this inconſiderate excurſion, encreaſed the diffidence which the ſoldiers entertained of their officers; who began likewiſe to diſagree amongſt themſelves, concurring in nothing but in thinking that the enemy were much too ſtrong for them.

The next day Chunda-ſaheb encamped within five miles of the village, and employed two days in reconnoitring the ground quite up to the

1751. ſtreights. On the third, the 13th of July, their whole army was diſcovered advancing in battle-array. Several parties of cavalry preceeded the line, and came on each flank of the village; and ſoon after appeared a body of 4000 Sepoys with ſeven pieces of cannon, ſupported by a company of 100 Topaſſes; theſe marched up ſlowly and in good order: the cavalry brought up the rear; and were ſoon after rejoined by the other parties which had been ſent forward, excepting a few ſquadrons which galloped on, and ſtationed themſelves between the village and the ſtreights. Captain Dalton had began to fire from his two field pieces, when he received orders to quit his poſt, and join the main body, which had advanced a little way from the camp to favour his retreat: the near approach of the enemy now rendered the execution of this order liable to many difficulties; however, to conceal his intentions from them as long as poſſible, he firſt drew up the greateſt part of his detachment out of their ſight behind the village, and then ordered the two field pieces to be ſent to him; after which the reſt of the detachment marched through the village and joined him. Thus the whole body formed before the enemy diſcovered their intention: as ſoon as they were convinced of it, their Sepoys ruſhed through the village, and began to fire from the huts on the rear of the Engliſh party, who had ſcarcely got out of reach of this fire, when the enemy's whole cavalry, divided into two bodies, came galloping round each ſide of the village, and ſurrounded them: the men did not loſe courage, and by a heavy fire obliged them to retreat into the village. The detachment moving ſlowly on toward the camp, had not proceeded far before the enemy, horſe and foot, returned to the charge, and ſurrounded them again. The Caffres, Topaſſes, and a platoon of Europeans kept up a conſtant fire, whilſt the grenadiers continually preſented and recovered their arms, preſerving their fire for the laſt extremity; and by this reſerve conſtantly deterred the cavalry from charging: in this manner they made their retreat good to the entrance of the ſtreights, where the ground being rocky, hindered the enemy's horſe from continuing in compact ſquadrons. The detachment, now reinforced by two platoons from the main body, halted more frequently, giving their whole fire at once, and joined their army in

in good order, bringing off their killed and wounded, which were fifteen men. The enemy following them, were inſenſibly led within a ſmall diſtance of the whole force now united with eight pieces of cannon in front; they at firſt appeared determined to ſtand their ground, and bring on a general action; but finding themſelves ſeverely galled by the artillery, which, together with the whole line, advanced upon them, they gave way, and loſt 300 men before they got out of cannon-ſhot: their cannon were ill ſerved, and did but little damage, and the French battalion never appeared until the firing ceaſed, when they were diſcovered taking poſſeſſion of the village, in the rear of which the reſt of the army likewiſe pitched their tents. 1751.

Altho' the poſt in the ſtreights was deemed defenſible, it was feared from the great ſuperiority of Chunda-ſaheb's cavalry and Sepoys, that he would detach a body of men, and poſt it between the camp and Tritchanopoly, from which city the army drew all its proviſions acroſs the two largeſt rivers in the Carnatic. From this apprehenſion it was determined to retreat without delay, and the army decamped ſilently in the night; they never halted till two the next day, fatigued to exceſs with a march of eighteen hours, performed without refreſhment in the hotteſt ſeaſon of this ſultry climate, and after the fatigues they had endured in the action of the preceding day. Luckily the enemy's cavalry were ſo diſpirited with the loſs they then ſuſtained, that they never attempted to interrupt the retreat: they however followed at a diſtance, and before night took poſt within three miles of the army, which was now arrived within ſight of Tritchanopoly, and encamped cloſe to the northern bank of the Coleroon.

This river is a principal arm of another called the Caveri, which has its ſource in the mountains within thirty miles of Mangalore on the coaſt of Malabar, and paſſing through the kingdom of Myſore, runs 400 miles before it reaches Tritchanopoly. About five miles to the northweſt of this city the Caveri divides itſelf into two principal arms. The northern is called the Coleroon, and diſembogues at Devi Cotah: the other retains the name of Caveri; and about twenty miles to the eaſtward of Tritchanopoly begins to ſend forth ſeveral large branches, all of which paſs through the kingdom of Tanjore, and are the cauſe of

1751. of the great fertility of that country. For ſeveral miles after the ſeparation, the banks of the Coleroon and Caveri are in no part two miles aſunder, in many ſcarcely one; and at Coilady, a fort fifteen miles to the eaſt of Tritchanopoly, the two ſtreams approach ſo near to each other, that the people of the country have been obliged to fling up a large and ſtrong mound of earth to keep them from uniting again. The long ſlip of land incloſed by the two channels between Coilady and the place where the two ſtreams firſt ſeparate, is called the iſland of Seringham, famous throughout Indoſtan for the great pagoda from which it derives its name. This temple is ſituated about a mile from the weſtern extremity of the iſland, at a ſmall diſtance from the bank of the Coleroon: it is compoſed of ſeven ſquare incloſures, one within the other, the walls of which are 25 feet high and four thick. Theſe incloſures are 350 feet diſtant from one another, and each has four large gates, with a high tower; which are placed, one in the middle of each ſide of the incloſure, and oppoſite to the four cardinal points. The outward wall is near four miles in circumference, and its gateway to the ſouth is ornamented with pillars, ſeveral of which are ſingle ſtones 33 feet long, and nearly 5 in diameter; and thoſe which form the roof are ſtill larger: in the inmoſt incloſure are the chapels. About half a mile to the eaſt of Seringham, and nearer to the Caveri than the Coleroon is another large pagoda called Jembikiſma: but this has only one incloſure. The extreme veneration in which Seringham is held, ariſes from a belief that it contains that identical image of the god Wiſtchnu, which uſed to be worſhipped by the god Brama. Pilgrims from all parts of the peninſula come here to obtain abſolution, and none come without an offering of money; and a large part of the revenue of the iſland is allotted for the maintenance of the Bramins who inhabit the pagoda, and theſe, with their families formerly compoſed a multitude, not leſs than 40,000 ſouls, maintained without labour by the liberality of ſuperſtition. Here, as in all the other great pagodas of India, the Bramins live in a ſubordination which ſuffers no reſiſtance, and ſlumber in a voluptuouſneſs which knows no wants; and, ſenſible of the happineſs of their condition, they quit not the ſilence of their retreats to mingle in the tumults of the ſtate; nor point the brand,

flaming

flaming from the altar, againſt the authority of the ſovereign, or the tranquillity of the government. This repoſe was now doomed to be much diſturbed, and the temple to endure ſuch pollutions as it had never before been expoſed to. 1751.

The Engliſh battalion took poſſeſſion of Pitchandah, a fortified pagoda ſituated on the northern bank of the Coleroon, about a mile to the eaſt of Seringham: the reſt of the army encamped along the river nearer the pagoda. The camp was only acceſſible by the high road; for the reſt of the ground was laid out in rice fields, which being at this ſeaſon overflowed, formed a moraſs not to be paſſed by cavalry: but the army ſoon found difficulties in getting proviſions, which could now only be brought from the oppoſite ſhore under the protection of the guns of the camp, and it was feared that this diſtreſs would be greatly encreaſed by the enemy's ſending a ſtrong detachment acroſs the river to take poſſeſſion of the great pagoda. It was therefore reſolved to prevent them, and orders were given for the whole army to croſs the river.

The Coleroon, like all the other rivers on the coaſt of Coromandel, is ſubject to very ſudden and unforeſeen alterations, which depend on the rains that fall on the mountains of the Malabar coaſt; ſo that in the ſpace of twenty-four hours it often, from being fordable, becomes almoſt impaſſable even by boats; and at this time it was ſcarcely fordable, and very rapid. The ammunition and ſtores were tranſported before day-light in two large flat boats, kept by the government of Tritchanopoly to ferry over horſes. The troops then followed with the field-pieces; and the retreat was not diſcovered by the enemy until the laſt boat with four of the field pieces was paſſing. This ſtuck upon a ſand-bank, and the enemy brought down their guns, and cannonaded it ſo ſeverely, that it was abandoned by the boatmen; but the grenadiers, who formed the rear-guard brought it off, and the whole army paſſed without any other loſs than that of two or three tumbrils and one ſmall iron gun belonging to the Nabob.

The Engliſh troops, as well as thoſe of the Nabob, entered the pagoda, and were admitted with great reluctance into three of the firſt incloſures, which affording room much more than ſufficient for their

1751. reception, they complied with the earneſt ſollicitations of the Bramins, imploring them to carry the ſtain of their pollutions no nearer the habitation of the idol. It was evident this poſt might have been defended againſt the enemy's whole force, ſince the cannon of Tritchanopoly and thoſe in the pagoda were near enough to have kept the communication open: but the ſpirit of retreat ſtill ſo ſtrongly poſſeſſed the army, that they ſuſpected the outward wall of Seringham to be in a ruinous condition, and thought the extent of it too great to be defended by ſo ſmall a force. Indeed the Engliſh battalion was now reduced to 400 men, and the Nabob's troops could not be depended on. It was therefore determined, as the laſt reſource, to take ſhelter under the walls of Tritchanopoly, and this reſolution was put in execution two days after the army took poſſeſſion of Seringham.

The city of Tritchanopoly lies about 90 miles inland from the coaſt, and is ſituated within 500 yards of the ſouthern bank of the Caveri, and about a mile and a half ſoutheaſt from Seringham. It is a parallelogram, of which the eaſt and weſt ſides extend near two miles, and the north and ſouth about one. It has a double incloſure of walls, each of which are flanked by round towers built at equal diſtances from one another: the outward wall is 18 feet high, and about 5 feet thick, without rampart or parapet: the inward is much ſtronger, being 30 feet high, with a rampart of ſtone decreaſing by large ſteps from the ground to the top, where it is 10 feet broad, and has a thin parapet of ſtone about 7 feet high, in which are loop holes to fire through. There is an interval between the two walls of 25 feet, and before the outward a ditch 30 feet wide and 12 deep, unequally ſupplied with water at different ſeaſons, but never quite dry. In the northern part of the city ſtands a rock 150 feet high, from which the adjacent country is diſcovered for many miles round.

The Engliſh battalion encamped on the weſt ſide of the city cloſe to the ditch, and the Nabob's troops on the ſouthern ſide: captain Cope, with 100 of the Europeans ſent thither in the beginning of the year, remained within the walls.

Chunda-ſaheb and the French took poſſeſſion of Seringham ſoon after the Nabob's army evacuated it; and in the beginning of Auguſt they

they ſent a ſtrong detachment to attack Coilady, a mud fort about a mile to the eaſt of the great bank which terminates the iſland of Seringham, and the only poſt which ſtill held out for the Nabob. Captain Gingen, informed of this motion, detached 20 Europeans and 100 Sepoys, under the command of enſign Truſler, to reinforce the garriſon. This officer defended the fort very gallantly for ſeveral days, until it was ſo ſhattered as to be no longer tenable: he then received orders to draw off his men in the night; and a detachment of 200 Europeans were ſent to poſt themſelves oppoſite to the fort on the ſouthern bank of the Caveri, in order to cover his retreat: but the Sepoys, inſtead of paſſing the river a few at a time, whilſt the Europeans fired from the wall to amuſe the enemy, threw themſelves precipitately into the water all together, every one preſſing to get over to the covering party as faſt as he could. Their outcries in this diſtreſs diſcovered them to the enemy, who increaſed it by firing upon them, and at the ſame time prepared to aſſault the fort; upon which the Europeans likewiſe plunged into the river, and throwing away their arms, with difficulty joined the covering party. This ſucceſs determined Chunda-ſaheb to croſs the Caveri, and leaving a garriſon in Seringham, he encamped with the reſt of his army to the eaſt of Tritchanopoly. 1751.

The preſidency of Fort St. David ſaw, with great anxiety, their efforts to ſupport Mahomed-ally fruſtrated, by the retreat of his army out of the Carnatic, where he now no longer poſſeſſed a ſingle diſtrict: and Verdachellum, the only fort to the north of the Coleroon which acknowledged him, was inveſted by the troops of a neighbouring polygar. The ſhips from Europe having brought ſome recruits, a detachment of 80 Europeans and 300 Sepoys, with a large convoy of ſtores, were ſent from fort St. David in the middle of July to relieve it: this party was commanded by lieutenant Clive, who ſoon after the reduction of Devi Cotah, had reaſſumed the mercantile ſervice of the company in which he firſt went to India, and now acted as commiſſary of the army, which he had accompanied in the beginning of this campaign, until they began to retreat before the enemy at Vol-kondah. He

1751. ſurprized the Polygar's troops at midnight, who took flight at the firſt fire, and the convoy entered Verdachellum without any loſs. From hence he ſent his detachment through the country of Tanjore to reinforce the battalion at Tritchanopoly, which they joined without interruption; the French at this time not having croſſed the Caveri. Mr. Clive himſelf returned from Verdachellum to Fort St. David, accompanied by 12 Sepoys, and as many ſervants: in his way, he was ſurrounded by the Polygar's troops, who with matchlocks harraſſed this little party ſome hours, and killed ſeven of the Sepoys, and ſeveral of his attendants. The ammunition of the reſt being expended, he ordered them to diſperſe, and ſaved himſelf by the ſpeed of his horſe from a party of cavalry, who purſued him ſeveral miles.

In the middle of Auguſt the preſidency prepared to ſend another reinforcement to Tritchanopoly, where the diſcontent which prevailed amongſt the officers made it neceſſary to remove ſeveral of them at a time when there were very few fit to ſucceed to their poſts: a captain's commiſſion was therefore given to Mr. Clive, who proceeded with a detachment into the country of Tanjore, where he was joined by another from Devi-Cotah: the two parties, when united, conſiſted of only 100 Europeans, 50 Sepoys, with one ſmall field piece. The king of Tanjore, like all other Indian princes, cautious of declaring whilſt the event remained doubtful, ſuffered both the Engliſh and French troops to march through his country to Tritchanopoly: and this being the only rout by which the Engliſh from the ſea-coaſt could now gain the city, the fort of Devi-Cotah began to acquire an importance not foreſeen when they took it. The French detached from Coilady 30 Europeans and 500 Sepoys, who came in ſight of the Engliſh party near the village of Condour, ſituated ten miles to the north of Tanjore; the high road led through the village, and both anxious to get poſſeſſion of it, entered it haſtily at the ſame time at different ends. A ſkirmiſh enſued, in which the French officer was deſperately wounded, and 10 of his Europeans were killed, on which the reſt with the Sepoys took flight; and the Engliſh making a circuit of ſeveral miles to avoid the enemy's camp, arrived ſafe at the city.

Notwith-

Scale of 880 Yards, or Half a Mile.

20 40 80 160 240 320 400 480 560 640

T R I T C H I

640 720 800 880

INAPOLY

Tho.s Kitchin Sculpsit.

Notwithſtanding theſe reinforcements, the Engliſh battalion at Tritchanopoly did not exceed 600 men; whereas the French had 900, and the troops of Chunda-ſaheb outnumbered the Nabob's ten to one. The ſtrength of the city indeed rendered the reduction of it very difficult; but the Nabob's army, at the ſame time that they were incapable of retrieving his affairs, exhauſted his treaſures, and his revenues were daily cut off by the enemy taking poſſeſſion of the countries which furniſhed them. 1751.

Captain Clive, on his return from Tritchanopoly in the beginning of Auguſt, repreſented this ſituation of affairs to the preſidency, and propoſed, as the only reſource, to attack the poſſeſſions of Chunda-ſaheb in the territory of Arcot; offering to lead the expedition himſelf, which he doubted not would cauſe a diverſion of part of the enemy's force from Tritchanopoly. Fort St. David and Madraſs were left, the one with 100, the other with leſs than 50 men, in order to ſupply the greateſt force that could be collected for this enterprize. The detachment, when compleated, nevertheleſs, conſiſted of no more than 300 Sepoys and 200 Europeans, with eight officers, ſix of whom had never before been in action, and four of theſe ſix were young men in the mercantile ſervice of the company, who, inflamed by his example, took up the ſword to follow him. This handful of men, with only three field pieces for their artillery, marched from Madraſs on the 26th of Auguſt, and on the 29th arrived at Conjevaram, a conſiderable town with a large pagoda, lying about 40 miles inland, where they received intelligence that the fort of Arcot was garriſoned by 1100 men; on which captain Clive wrote to Madraſs, deſiring that two 18 pounders might be ſent after him without delay. On the 31ſt he halted within 10 miles of Arcot, where the enemy's ſpies reported, that they had diſcovered the Engliſh marching with unconcern through a violent ſtorm of thunder, lightning, and rain; and this circumſtance, from their notions of omens, gave the garriſon ſo high an opinion of the fortitude of the approaching enemy, that they inſtantly abandoned the fort, and a few hours after the Engliſh entered the city, which had no walls or defences, and marching through 100,000 ſpectators, who gazed on them with admiration and reſpect, took poſſeſſion of the fort, in which they found a large quantity of lead

1751. and gun-powder, with 8 pieces of cannon from 4 to 8 pounders. The merchants had, for ſecurity, depoſited in the fort effects to the value of 50,000 pounds, but theſe were punctually reſtored to the owners; and this judicious generoſity conciliated many of the principal inhabitants to the Engliſh intereſt. The fort was inhabited by 3 or 4000 perſons, who, at their own requeſt, were permitted to remain in their dwellings.

Captain Clive made it his firſt care to collect ſuch proviſions and materials as might enable him to ſuſtain a ſiege; and knowing that the enemy would ſoon recover from their fright, and return into the town, if he confined himſelf to the fort, determined to go in queſt of them: and on the 4th of September marched out with the greateſt part of his men and four field pieces: in the afternoon he diſcovered the fugitive garriſon, conſiſting of 600 horſe and 500 foot, drawn up near Timary, a fort ſituated 6 miles ſouthweſt of the city. They had a field piece, managed by two or three Europeans, from which they fired at a great diſtance, and killed a camel and wounded a Sepoy: but as ſoon as they ſaw the Engliſh within muſket ſhot, retreated to the hills in their rear; upon which the Engliſh returned to the fort.

The troops marched out again on the 6th, and found the enemy drawn up within gun-ſhot of Timary in a grove, incloſed with a bank and a ditch; about 50 yards in front of which was a large tank, ſurrounded likewiſe with a bank much higher than that of the grove; but by age and neglect the tank itſelf was almoſt choaked up and dry. Their number now appeared to be 2000, and they had two field pieces, which fired ſmartly as the Engliſh advanced, and killed three Europeans; on which accident the line advanced more briſkly towards the enemy, who frightened by the vivacity of their approach, did not think themſelves ſafe in the grove, but hurried with precipitation into the tank, and began to fire from the banks, expoſing ſo little of their bodies that the Engliſh fire did no execution amongſt them, whilſt theirs wounded ſeveral of the Europeans and Sepoys. The troops were therefore ordered to move behind ſome neighbouring buildings, from which enſign Glaſs was ſoon after detached with a platoon of 40 men, to attack one ſide of the tank, whilſt another, under the command of lieutenant Bulkley, puſhed to attack the enemy in front. Both gained the banks and gave

their fire at the ſame inſtant, amongſt numbers crowded together in the tank; which immediately put them to flight. The troops then took poſſeſſion of the village under the walls of the fort, and ſummoned the governor. Meſſages paſſed, during which his ſpies diſcovered that the Engliſh had no battering cannon, which intelligence determined him not to ſurrender. Several ſhells were therefore thrown into the fort from a cohorn mortar, which proving ineffectual, the troops marched back to Arcot, and the enemy's cavalry hovered round them as they retreated, but kept out of the reach of their fire. 1751.

The garriſon remained in the fort 10 days, diligently employed in many neceſſary works; and the enemy, now augmented to 3000 men, imputed this intermiſſion of their ſallies to fear, and encamped within 3 miles of the town, giving out that they intended to beſiege the fort. Captain Clive determined to take advantage of their ſecurity; and on the 14th of September marched out, two hours after midnight, with the greateſt part of the garriſon, who entering their camp by ſurprize, found them, as was expected, aſleep. The troops beat up the camp from one end to the other, firing continually on numbers taking flight on all ſides with ſhrieks and confuſion: the terror was ſo great that very few made uſe of their arms, and even theſe few, after a ſingle diſcharge made at random, mingled with the reſt of the fugitives; and when the day broke, none of them remained in ſight. This ſucceſs was obtained without the loſs of a man.

The two 18 pounders, which had been demanded from Madraſs, were, with ſome military ſtores, on the road, eſcorted only by a few Sepoys; and the enemy, hoping to intercept them, ſent a large detachment, which took poſſeſſion of the great pagoda of Conjevaram: 30 Europeans and 50 Sepoys, with a field piece, were ſent from the fort to diſlodge them, and on their arrival found the pagoda abandoned; the enemy having retreated to a fort in the neighbourhood, where they were continually reinforced from the main body. Much depending on the ſafe arrival of the convoy, captain Clive, reſerving only 30 Europeans and 50 Sepoys for the guard of the fort, ſent all the reſt to cover it. On this the enemy changed their deſign, and returned haſtily to the city, in expectation that an aſſault made on the fort during the

1751. the abſence of ſo great a part of the garriſon, would encourage the inhabitants to riſe; and in this confidence, their whole force, horſe and foot, advanced as ſoon as it was dark, and ſurrounded the fort. Their muſketry, from the adjacent houſes, kept a continual fire upon the ramparts; and this attack producing no effect, a large body of horſe and foot advanced promiſcuouſly to the principal gate, endeavouring by outcries, and the noiſe of their military muſic, to confound the attention of the garriſon, from whom they ſuſtained ſeveral diſcharges of muſketry without quitting their ground. At laſt ſome grenades were thrown amongſt them, the exploſion of which frightening the horſes, flung their cavalry into ſuch confuſion that they galloped away, trampling over the foot: but within an hour they recovered their ſpirits, and made ſuch another attack at the other gate, where they were received and beat off as at the firſt. Their infantry continued their fire until day-break, when the Engliſh detachments, with the convoy, entered the town, upon which they abandoned it with precipitation. The inhabitants in the fort, ſatisfied with the treatment they had received from the garriſon, betrayed no ſymptoms of inſurrection during the attack.

The acquiſition of the fort of Arcot ſoon produced the effect which had been expected from it. Chunda-ſaheb detached 4000 of his beſt troops, horſe and foot, from Tritchanopoly, who in their rout were joined by his ſon Raja-ſaheb, with 150 Europeans from Pondicherry, and together with the troops already collected in the neighbourhood of Arcot, entered the city on the 23d of September, and Raja-ſaheb fixed his head-quarters in the palace of the Nabob.

Captain Clive finding himſelf on the point of being cloſely beſieged, determined to make one vigorous effort to drive the enemy out of the town, which, if it did not ſucceed, might at leaſt produce the good effect of impreſſing them with an opinion of the courage of his men. On the 24th at noon, the greateſt part of the garriſon, with the four field pieces, ſallied out of the northweſt gate: this faced a ſtreet, which, after continuing about ſeventy yards in a direct line to the north, turned off to the eaſt, and formed another ſtreet, at the end of which on the left hand was ſituated the Nabob's palace. This fronted another ſtreet, which ſtriking to the ſouth, continued on the eaſtern ſide of the

fort. The ſquare interval between theſe three ſtreets and the northern wall of the fort was filled with buildings and incloſures. Captain Clive intending to place the enemy between two fires, ordered a platoon under the command of enſign Glaſs to march up the ſtreet on the eaſtern ſide of the fort, which led up to the palace, and advanced himſelf with the main body along the north ſtreet. The French troops, with four field pieces, were drawn up at the end of the croſs ſtreet in front of the palace. Captain Clive's party no ſooner came in ſight of them than a hot cannonade enſued in the croſs ſtreet, at the diſtance of only 30 yards. The French in a few minutes, were driven from their guns, and ran into the palace; but by this time the troops of Raja-ſaheb had taken poſſeſſion of all the houſes in the ſtreet, and ſecure under this cover, kept up a continual fire from their muſketry with ſuch good aim, that 14 men, who puſhed to bring away the French guns were all either killed or wounded. There was on one ſide of the ſtreet a large choultry: theſe are buildings intended for the reception of travellers, covered and incloſed on three ſides with walls, but open in front, where, inſtead of a wall, the roof is ſupported by pillars. Captain Clive, to preſerve his men, relinquiſhed the intention of bringing off the enemy's cannon, and ordered them to enter the choultry; from hence the artillery men ſtepping out and retreating into it immediately after they had performed the ſervices allotted to each of them, continued to load and fire their field pieces until they had recoiled into the north ſtreet. The troops then quitting the choultry, joined their guns and proceeded to the fort without meeting any farther moleſtation. Enſign Glaſs's platoon returned at the ſame time: theſe had encountered, and put to flight 3 or 400 of the enemy's Sepoys, whom they found poſted as an advanced guard in an incloſure adjoining to the ſtreet through which they intended to paſs to the palace; where, by this interruption, they were prevented from arriving in time to render the ſervice expected from them. The garriſon ſuffered this day the loſs of 15 Europeans, who were either killed on the ſpot, or died afterwards of their wounds; amongſt them was lieutenant Trenwith, who perceiving a Sepoy from a window taking aim at captain Clive, pulled him on one ſide, upon which the Sepoy, changing his aim, ſhot lieutenant Trenwith through the body. Lieutenant Revel, the only artillery officer, with 1751.

1751. with 16 other men, was likewiſe diſabled. This ſally would be condemned by the rules of war eſtabliſhed in Europe, for they forbid the beſieged to run ſuch a riſque, unleſs they are aſſured of greatly outnumbering the party they attack; but it is not reaſonable to ſtrain the rules calculated for one ſyſtem to the ſervice of another differing ſo widely from it, as the modes of war in Indoſtan differ from thoſe in Europe.

The next day Raja-ſaheb was joined by 2000 men from Veloor, commanded by Mortiz-ally in perſon; and took poſſeſſion of all the avenues leading to the fort, which ſeemed little capable of ſuſtaining the impending ſiege. Its extent was more than a mile in circumference. The walls were in many places ruinous; the rampart too narrow to admit the firing of artillery; the parapet low and ſlightly built; ſeveral of the towers were decayed, and none of them capable of receiving more than one piece of cannon; the ditch was in moſt places fordable, in others dry, and in ſome choaked up: there was between the foot of the walls and the ditch a ſpace about 10 feet broad, intended for a fauſſebray, but this had no parapet at the ſcarp of the ditch. The fort had two gates, one to the north-weſt, the other to the eaſt; both of which were large piles of maſonry projecting 40 feet beyond the walls, and the paſſage from theſe gates was, inſtead of a draw-bridge, a large cauſeway croſſing the ditch. The garriſon had from their arrival employed themſelves indefatigably to remove and repair as many of theſe inconveniences and defects as the ſmallneſs of their numbers could attend to. They had endeavoured to burn down ſeveral of the neareſt houſes, but without ſucceſs; for theſe having no wood-work in their conſtruction, excepting the beams which ſupported the ceiling, reſiſted the blaze: of theſe houſes the enemy's infantry took poſſeſſion, and began to fire upon the ramparts, and wounded ſeveral of the garriſon before night, when they retired. At midnight, enſign Glaſs, was ſent with 10 men, and ſome barrels of gun-powder, to blow up two of the houſes which moſt annoyed the fort. This party were let down by ropes over the walls, and entering the houſes without being diſcovered, made the exploſion, but with ſo little ſkill that it did not produce the intended effect: at their return the rope, by which enſign

ſign Glaſs was getting into the fort, broke, and he was by the fall rendered incapable of farther duty; ſo that, at the beginning of the ſiege, the garriſon was deprived of the ſervice of four of the eight officers who ſet out on the expedition; for one was killed, two wounded, and another returned to Madraſs; and the troops fit for duty were diminiſhed to 120 Europeans and 200 Sepoys: theſe were beſieged by 150 Europeans, 2000 Sepoys, 3000 cavalry, and 5000 Peans. 1751.

The ſtore of proviſion in the fort was only ſufficient to ſupply the garriſon ſixty days, which rendered it neceſſary to ſend away all the inhabitants, excepting a few artificers, and the enemy permitted them to paſs through their guards without moleſtation: amongſt thoſe who remained was a maſon, who had for many years been employed in the fort; he gave information that there was an aqueduct under ground, known to very few, but which, if diſcovered by the enemy, would enable them to drain the only reſervoir of water in the fort: the man was rewarded for this ſeaſonable intelligence, and employed to prevent the miſchief, by choaking up a part of the aqueduct within the walls. For 14 days, the enemy, not yet furniſhed with battering cannon, carried on the ſiege by firing from the houſes with muſketry, and a bombardment from four mortars. The bombardment did little damage, and to avoid the effect of the muſketry, none of the garriſon were ſuffered to appear on the ramparts, excepting the few immediately neceſſary to prevent a ſurprize; but notwithſtanding this precaution, ſeveral were killed, and more wounded: for the enemy, ſecure in the houſes, and firing from reſting-places, took ſuch excellent aim, that they often hit a man when nothing but his head appeared above the parapet; and in this manner three ſerjeants were killed, who at different times ſingly accompanied captain Clive in viſiting the works. Mortiz-ally, a few days after his arrival, pretended to be diſſatisfied with Raja-ſaheb, and removed his troops to a different part of the city, from whence he ſent a meſſenger, inviting the garriſon to make a ſally on the quarters of Raja-ſaheb, in which he offered to aſſiſt them with his whole force. Capt. Clive miſtruſted his profeſſions, but conſidering the advantage of keeping ſuch a number of the enemy's troops inactive, pretended to approve of the propoſal, and carried on for ſeveral days a correſ-

1751. pondence, until Mortiz-ally, ſuſpecting his ſcheme was detected, rejoined the army.

On the 24th of October, the French troops received from Pondicherry two 18 pounders, and ſeven pieces of ſmaller calibre, and immediately opened a battery to the north-weſt, which was ſo well ſerved, that their very firſt ſhot diſmounted one of the 18 pounders in the fort, and the next entirely diſabled it. The garriſon mounted the other 18 pounder; and this, after a few ſhot, was likewiſe diſmounted: after which it was employed only in ſuch parts of the fort, where it was not expoſed to the enemy's artillery. The three field pieces were likewiſe cautiouſly reſerved to repulſe the enemy when they ſhould ſtorm; ſo that their battery firing without much oppoſition, in ſix days beat down all the wall lying between two towers, and made a practicable breach of fifty feet. In the mean time the garriſon were employed in making works to defend it: a trench was dug juſt under the rampart, and behind that at ſome diſtance another; both of which were ſcattered with crows feet, and behind them the wall of a houſe was pulled down to the heighth of a breaſt-work; from whence a row of palliſadoes was carried along on each ſide of the two trenches, and continued up the rampart to the parapet. A field piece was planted on one of the towers which flanked the breach without, and two ſmall pieces of cannon on the flat roof of a houſe within the fort, oppoſite to the entrance. In theſe employments, as indeed in all others, the officers contributed their labour equally with the common men; and the enemy, informed of theſe preparations to defend the breach, did not think it ſafe to attack it before they had made another: they had by this time burſt one of their 18 pounders, and removed the other, with one nine pounder, to a battery which they erected to the ſouth-weſt.

The garriſon intending to convince Raja-ſaheb that they were in a condition to execute even labours not indiſpenſibly neceſſary, thickened the higheſt tower of the ramparts, and then raiſed on the top of it a mound of earth to ſuch a heighth as commanded the palace over the interjacent houſes. On the top of this mound they hoiſted a vaſt piece of cannon, ſent, according to the tradition of the fort, from Delhi,

by

by Aureng-zebe, and ſaid to have been drawn by 1000 yoke of oxen. 1751.
There were ſeveral ſtone balls belonging to it, each weighing 72 pounds. The cannon was laid on the mound, and loaded with 30 pounds of powder, which was fired by a train carried to a conſiderable diſtance on the ground. The ſhot went through the palace, to the no ſmall terror of Raja-ſaheb and his principal officers; and as this was the only effect intended, the cannon was fired only once in the day, at the time when the officers aſſembled at the head-quarters: on the fourth day it burſt.

The enemy, as if they intended to retaliate this affront, filled up a large houſe which commanded the eaſtern gate with earth well ramm'd down, and upon this baſe raiſed a ſquare mound of earth to ſuch a heighth as commanded not only the gate, but likewiſe every part within the fort: from hence they intended to fire on the rampart with muſketry and two ſmall pieces of cannon. They were ſuffered to go on with their work until they had compleated it, and mounted the cannon, when the garriſon began to fire from the reſerved 18 pounder, and in leſs than an hour the mound gave way and tumbled at once with 50 men ſtationed on it, moſt of whom were either killed or diſabled.

Notwithſtanding the numbers of the enemy's guards which ſurrounded the fort, the garriſon, by means of able ſpies, carried on a conſtant correſpondence with Madraſs and Fort St. David, where the company's agents were very ſollicitous to relieve them, and having received ſome recruits from Europe, formed a party of 100 Europeans, who with 200 Sepoys, ſet out from Madraſs under the command of lieutenant Innis. They had not advanced 30 miles in their way to Arcot, when they were ſurrounded in the town of Trivatore by 2000 of Raja-ſaheb's troops detached with 20 Europeans and two field pieces from the city. The Engliſh party having no cannon, were ſo ſeverely annoyed by the enemy's, that lieutenant Innis, as the only reſource, made a puſh with all his Europeans to drive them from their guns. The attempt ſucceeded, but not without a ſharp conteſt, in which 20 of the Engliſh and two of their officers were killed, and a greater number wounded. This loſs deterred the reſt from continuing their march, and they retreated to Ponomaley, a fort belonging to the company 15 miles weſt of Madraſs.

1751. On the 24th of October the enemy opened their battery to the ſouth-weſt: the part of the wall againſt which they directed their fire was in a very ruinous condition, but it had the advantage of being much leſs expoſed than any other to the fire from the houſes. The garriſon therefore kept up a conſtant fire of muſketry againſt the battery, and ſeveral times drove the enemy out of it, but the breach notwithſtanding increaſed every day.

The retreat of lieutenant Innis left the garriſon little hopes of ſuccour from the ſettlements, but at this time their ſpirits were raiſed by the hopes of other reſources. A body of 6000 Morattoes, under the command of Morari-row, had lain for ſome time encamped at the foot of the weſtern mountains, about 30 miles from Arcot: they had been hired to aſſiſt Mahomed-ally by the king of Myſore; but the retreat of the Engliſh, and the Nabob's troops to Tritchanopoly, had been repreſented in the neighbouring countries ſo much to their prejudice, that the Nabob's affairs were thought to be deſperate, and his allies were ſuſpected of having little intention to ſupport him; and from this perſuaſion the Morattoes remained inactive. Captain Clive had found means to ſend a meſſenger to inform them of his ſituation, and to requeſt their approach to his relief; the meſſenger returning ſafely to the fort, brought a letter from Morari-row, in which he ſaid that he would not delay a moment to ſend a detachment of his troops to the aſſiſtance of ſuch brave men as the defenders of Arcot, whoſe behaviour had now firſt convinced him that the Engliſh could fight.

Raja-ſaheb receiving intelligence of their intentions, ſent a flag of truce on the 30th of October, with propoſals for the ſurrender of the fort. He offered honourable terms to the garriſon, and a large ſum of money to captain Clive; and if his offers were not accepted, he threatened to ſtorm the fort immediately, and put every man to the ſword.

Captain Clive, in his anſwer, reflecting on the badneſs of Chunda-ſaheb's cauſe, treated Raja-ſaheb's offers of money with contempt; and ſaid, that he had too good an opinion of his prudence to believe that he would attempt to ſtorm, until he had got better ſoldiers than the rabble of which his army was compoſed. As ſoon as the meſſenger

was diſpatched, the flag of truce was pulled down; but the enemy not underſtanding the rules of European war, numbers of them remained near the ditch parleying with the Sepoys, and perſuading them to deſert. The croud was ſeveral times warned to retire, but continuing to diſregard the injunction, were diſperſed by a volley of ſmall arms, which killed ſeveral of them. 1751.

Lieutenant Innis's party, reinforced to the number of 150 Europeans, and with four field pieces, was now advancing under the command of Capt. Kirkpatrick; and on the 9th of November a detachment of Morattoes arrived in the neighbourhood, and intercepted ſome ammunition going to the enemy. They likewiſe attempted to enter the town; but finding every ſtreet and avenue barricaded, they contented themſelves with plundering and ſetting fire to ſome houſes in the ſkirts of it, after which they retreated.

By this time the enemy had, from their battery to the ſouth-weſt, made a breach much larger than that to the north-weſt, for it extended near 30 yards; but the ditch before it was full of water, and not fordable: and the garriſon had counterworked this breach with the ſame kinds of defences as the other.

Raja-ſaheb, exaſperated by the anſwer he had received to his ſummons, and alarmed by the approach of the Morattoes, and the detachment from Madraſs, determined to ſtorm the fort. In the evening a ſpy brought intelligence of this to the garriſon, and at midnight another came with a particular account of all the enemy's diſpoſitions, and of the hour of attack, which was to begin at the dawn of day by the ſignal of three bombs. Captain Clive, almoſt exhauſted with fatigue, laid down to ſleep, ordering himſelf to be awakened at the firſt alarm.

It was the 14th of November, and the feſtival which commemorates the murder of the brothers Haſſein and Jaſſein happened to fall out at this time. This is celebrated by the Mahomedans of Indoſtan with a kind of religious madneſs, ſome acting and others bewailing the cataſtrophe of their ſaints with ſo much energy, that ſeveral die of the exceſſes they commit: they are likewiſe perſuaded, that whoever falls in battle, againſt unbelievers, during any of the days of this ceremony, ſhall inſtantly be tranſlated into the higher paradiſe, without

1751. without ſtopping at any of the intermediate purgatories. To the enthuſiaſm of ſuperſtition was added the more certain efficacy of inebriation; for moſt of the troops, as is cuſtomary during the agitations of this feſtival, had eaten plentifully of bang, a plant which either ſtupifies or excites the moſt deſperate exceſſes of rage. Thus prepared, as ſoon as the morning broke, the army of Raja-ſaheb advanced to the attack. Beſides a multitude that came with ladders to every part of the walls that were acceſſible, there appeared four principal diviſions. Two of the diviſions advanced to the two gates, and the other two were allotted to the breaches.

Captain Clive awakened by the alarm, found his garriſon at their poſts, according to the diſpoſitions he had made. The parties who attacked the gates drove before them ſeveral elephants, who, with large plates of iron fixed to their foreheads, were intended to break them down; but the elephants, wounded by the muſketry, ſoon turned, and trampled on thoſe who eſcorted them. The ditch before the breach to the north-weſt was fordable; and as many as the breach would admit, mounted it with a mad kind of intrepidity, whilſt numbers came and ſat down with great compoſure in the fauſſe-braye under the tower where the field piece was planted, and waited here to relieve thoſe who were employed in the attack: theſe paſſed the breach, and ſome of them even got over the firſt trench before the defenders gave fire; it fell heavily, and every ſhot did execution: and a number of muſkets were loaded in readineſs, which thoſe behind delivered to the firſt rank as faſt as they could diſcharge them. The two pieces of cannon from the top of the houſe fired likewiſe on the aſſailants, who in a few minutes abandoned the attack, when another body, and then another ſucceeded, who were driven off in the ſame manner: in the mean time mortars, with ſhort fuſees, which had been prepared and lodged on the adjacent rampart were thrown into the fauſſe-braye, and by their exploſion drove the crowd, who had ſeated themſelves there, back again over the ditch. At the breach to the ſouth-weſt the enemy brought a raft, and ſeventy men embarked on it to croſs the ditch, which was flanked by two field pieces, one in each tower: the raft had almoſt gained the fauſſe-braye, when captain Clive obſerving that the gunners fired

with bad aim, took the management of one of the field pieces himſelf, and in three or four diſcharges ſtruck down twenty men, which flung the reſt into ſuch confuſion that they overſet the raft, and tumbled into the ditch; where ſome of them were drowned, and the reſt, intent only on their own preſervation, ſwam back and left the raft behind. 1751.

In theſe different attacks the enemy continued the ſtorm for an hour, when they relinquiſhed all their attempts of annoyance at once, and employed themſelves earneſtly in carrying off their dead. Amongſt theſe was the commander of their Sepoys, who fell in the fauſſe-braye of the northern breach: he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf with great bravery in the attack, and was ſo much beloved by his troops, that one of them croſſed the ditch and carried off his body, expoſing himſelf during the attempt to the fire of 40 muſkets, from which he had the good fortune to eſcape. It ſeemed as if the enemy expected that the garriſon would permit them to fulfil this duty to their friends; but finding that they ſuffered ſeverely in attempting it, they at laſt retreated and diſappeared. Their loſs during the ſtorm was computed to be not leſs than 400 men killed and wounded, of which very few were Europeans, for moſt of the French troops were obſerved drawn up and looking on at a diſtance. Of the defenders, only four Europeans were killed and two Sepoys wounded. Many of the garriſon being diſabled by ſickneſs or wounds, the number which repulſed the ſtorm was no more than 80 Europeans, officers included, and 120 Sepoys; and theſe, beſides ſerving five pieces of cannon, fired 12000 muſket cartridges during the attack.

Two hours after the enemy renewed their fire upon the fort, both with their cannon and with musketry from the houſes: at two in the afternoon they demanded leave to bury their dead, which was granted, and a truce allowed until four: they then recommenced and continued their fire ſmartly till two in the morning, when on a ſudden it ceaſed totally; and at day-break, intelligence was brought that the whole army had abandoned the town with precipitation. On receiving this joyful news, the garriſon immediately marched into the enemy's quarters, where they found four pieces of artillery, four mortars, and a large quantity of ammunition, which they brought in triumph into the fort. During the time that the garriſon were ſhut up in the fort,

1751. 45 Europeans and 30 Sepoys were killed, and a greater number of both wounded, moſt of whom ſuffered by the enemy's musketry from the houſes.

Thus ended this ſiege, maintained 50 days, under every diſadvantage of ſituation and force, by a handful of men in their firſt campaign, with a ſpirit worthy of the moſt veteran troops; and conducted by their young commander with indefatigable activity, unſhaken conſtancy, and undaunted courage; and notwithſtanding he had at this time neither read books, or converſed with men capable of giving him much inſtruction in the military art; all the reſources which he employed in the defence of Arcot, were ſuch as are dictated by the beſt maſters in the ſcience of war.

In the evening the detachment with captain Kirkpatrick entered the town, which the army of Raja-ſaheb no ſooner quitted than all the troops, ſent to his aſſiſtance by different chiefs, returned to their homes, and there remained with him only thoſe which had been detached by his father from Tritchanopoly. With theſe and the French he retired to Veloor, and pitching his camp cloſe to the eaſtern ſide of the town, fortified it with ſtrong entrenchments. Captain Clive leaving captain Kirkpatrick with a garriſon in the fort, took the field on the 19th of November, with 200 Europeans, 700 Sepoys, and three field pieces, and marched to Timary, which the governor now ſurrendered on the firſt ſummons: a ſmall garriſon was left in this place, and the army returned and encamped near the weſtern ſide of the city, waiting to be joined by the Morattoes. Of theſe, 5000 horſe, with Morari-row at their head, had proceeded to the ſouthward, and 1000 under the command of Boſin-row, a nephew of Morari-row, remained to aſſiſt captain Clive; but they, inſtead of joining him immediately, employed themſelves ſome days in plundering the country. As they lay encamped with great negligence within a ſhort march of Veloor, the French troops with Raja-ſaheb attacked them with ſucceſs in the night, killed 40 or 50 of their horſes, and plundered their camp. After this defeat they came to the Engliſh camp, and intreated captain Clive to march to the place where they had ſuffered, in hopes of recovering their loſs. Their requeſt was complied with to keep them in temper, but nothing was recovered, for the

enemy

enemy had carried off and ſecured the booty. At this time intelligence 1751.
was received that a party of Europeans from Pondicherry were approaching towards Arnie, a ſtrong fort ſituated about 20 miles to the ſouth of Arcot; on which captain Clive requeſted Boſin-row to accompany him with his troops to intercept them before they joined Raja-ſaheb. The Morattoe ſeeing no probability of acquiring plunder, refuſed his aſſiſtance, and the Engliſh marched without him; but hearing that the French party had retreated to Chittapet, returned to their ſtation near Arcot. Two or three days after, Raja-ſaheb quitted his encampment near Veloor, and in the night, made a forced march to Arnie, where he was joined by the party from Chittapet. The Morattoes ſtill continued unwilling to accompany the Engliſh in queſt of the enemy; but, hearing from their ſpies, that their reinforcement had brought a large ſum of money for Raja-ſaheb, Baſin-row expreſſed as much eagerneſs to march againſt him as he had hitherto ſhewn reluctance. The troops immediately moved; but the Morattoe was not able to aſſemble more than 600 of his horſemen, the reſt being employed in their uſual excurſions. The next afternoon, by a forced march of 20 miles, the army came in ſight of the enemy, juſt as they were preparing to croſs the river which runs to the north of Arnie, who encouraged by the ſuperiority of their force, which conſiſted of 300 Europeans, 2000 horſe, and 2500 Sepoys, with four field pieces, immediately formed, and returned to meet them. Captain Clive halted to receive them in an advantageous poſt: the Morattoes were ſtationed in a grove of palm trees to the left; the Sepoys in a village to the right; and the Europeans, with the field pieces in the center, in an open ground, which extended about three hundred yards between the grove and the village; in the front were rice fields, which at this time of the year were very ſwampy, and the approach of the enemy's cannon would have been impracticable, had there not been a cauſeway leading to the village on the right. The French troops, with about 1500 Sepoys, and their artillery, marched along the cauſeway; and the horſe, amongſt which the reſt of the Sepoys were interſperſed, moved in a ſeparate body to the left, and attacked the Morattoes in the grove ſome time before the other wing was engaged any other way than by cannonading at a diſtance. The

1751. Morattoes fought in a manner peculiar to themſelves: their cavalry were armed with ſabres, and every horſeman was cloſely accompanied by a man on foot, armed with a ſword and a large club, and ſome inſtead of a club carried a ſhort ſtrong ſpear: if a horſe was killed and the rider remained unhurt, he immediately began to act on foot; and if the rider fell, and the horſe eſcaped, he was immediately mounted, and preſſed on again to the charge by the firſt footman who could ſeize him. Notwithſtanding the difference of numbers, and the advantage of the enemy's diſpoſition, they behaved with great ſpirit, and made five ſucceſſive charges, in every one of which they were repulſed by the fire of the enemy's Sepoys. In the mean time the other wing advanced towards the village, and found their line of march along the cauſeway ſo much galled and infiladed by the Engliſh field pieces, that all but the artillerymen, with the cannon and two or three platoons to ſupport them, quitted the cauſeway and formed in the rice fields an extenſive front, which reached almoſt to the grove, where their cavalry was engaged, who imagined that this motion was made to reinforce them. Upon this change in their diſpoſition, two field pieces were ſent to ſupport the Morattoes, and the Sepoys, with two platoons of Europeans, were ordered to ſally from the village and attack the enemy's artillery. This unexpected motion terrified thoſe who remained to defend the cannon, ſo much that they immediately began to draw them off and retreat. Their example was followed by the Sepoys in the rice fields, and the retreat of theſe immediately diſpirited the horſe and foot fighting at the grove, who had ſuffered from the two field pieces; and this whole wing gave way and retreated likewiſe, purſued by the Morattoes. Capt. Clive, with his infantry and field pieces, advanced along the cauſeway in purſuit of the enemy, who made a ſtand at three different choultreys in their rout, but were beat out of each of them, when night coming on, the purſuit ceaſed. About 50 of the French, and 150 of the enemy's cavalry and Sepoys were either killed or wounded in the action. The Engliſh loſt no European, and only eight Sepoys; but of the Morattoes about fifty were either killed or diſabled.

Raja-ſaheb continuing his retreat, croſſed the river, and entered the town of Arnie: which at midnight they quitted in great diſorder, intending

tending to make the beſt of their way to Gingee; and the next morning the Engliſh entered the town, in which they found many tents, and a large quantity of baggage. The Morattoes ſet out in purſuit of the enemy, and, before night, returned with 400 horſes, and Raja-ſaheb's military cheſt, in which they found 100,000 rupees. A great number of the enemy's Sepoys came and offered their ſervice to captain Clive, who inliſted as many as brought good arms; and theſe amounted to 600. Receiving intelligence from them, that Raja-ſaheb had depoſited ſome valuable effects in the fort of Arnie, he ſummoned the governor to deliver them up, together with his fort. After ſome altercations, the man ſent out an elephant and 15 horſes, with a great quantity of baggage, and agreed to take the oath of fealty to Mahomed-ally, but refuſed to ſurrender his fort, which the army, having no battering cannon, was not in a condition to attack. 1751.

The French, during the ſiege of Arcot, had again taken poſſeſſion of the great pagoda of Conjevaram, and placed in it a garriſon of 30 Europeans and 300 Sepoys, who from hence interrupted the communication between Arcot and Madraſs, and had ſurprized a party of diſabled men, returning from the ſiege. Amongſt theſe were the officers Revel and Glaſs, to whom the French gave quarter after they had murdered five or ſix Europeans as they lay in their litters without arms, and incapable of making reſiſtance. Captain Clive determined to avail himſelf of the diſperſion of Raja-ſaheb's forces to reduce Conjevaram: and two or three days after his victory, marched thither at the head of his own force: for Baſin-row, in obedience to orders which he had received from his uncle, proceeded wtih the Morattoes from Arnie to Tritchanopoly. The French officer at Conjevaram was ſummoned to ſurrender; and none of the garriſon underſtanding the Engliſh language, he ordered his priſoners, Revel and Glaſs, to write a letter, and acquaint captain Clive, that he intended to expoſe them on the walls, if the pagoda was attacked. They wrote this, but added, that they hoped no regard to their ſafety would induce him to diſcontinue his operations againſt the place. The army waited ſome days for two 18 pounders, which were coming from Madraſs; and

1751. as ſoon as they arrived began to batter in breach at the diſtance of 200 yards: the enemy had no cannon, but fired very ſmartly with their muſketry, which killed ſeveral men at the battery, and lieutenant Bulkley, reconnoitering the pagoda over a garden-wall in company with captain Clive, was ſhot through the head cloſe by his ſide. The walls reſiſted three days before a breach began to appear, when the garriſon, conſcious of their demerits, and dreading the juſt reſentment of the Engliſh, abandoned the pagoda in the night, but left behind the two priſoners. After ruining the defences of Conjevaram, captain Clive ſent 200 Europeans and 500 Sepoys to Arcot, and returned in the middle of December with the reſt to Madraſs; from whence he went to Fort St. David, to give an account of his campaign to the preſidency.

During theſe ſucceſſes in the province of Arcot, Chunda-ſaheb beleaguered Tritchanopoly. The French battalion fixed their quarters at a village called Chuckley-pollam, on the ſouthern bank of the Caveri, about two miles and a half from the eaſt ſide of the town. The troops of Chunda-ſaheb, for the convenience of water, encamped likewiſe along the bank of the river, and to the eaſtward of Chuckley-pollam, which poſt ſecured one of the flanks of their camp, and at the other extremity of it, three miles diſtant, they raiſed a redoubt, on which they mounted two pieces of cannon. The French, on whom the operations of the ſiege principally depended, ſent to their ſettlement of Karical for a train of battering artillery, and in the beginning of September they raiſed their principal battery a little to the ſouth of the north-eaſt angle of the town, and at the diſtance of 1200 yards from the walls. To ſave the fatigue of carrying on trenches between this poſt and the camp, they afterwards made the battery a regular redoubt, by incloſing it on both flanks and in the rear with a parapet and a deep ditch; here they mounted three 18 pounders, and three mortars, which were defended by a conſtant guard of 100 Europeans and 400 Sepoys. They likewiſe mounted two 18 pounders on a rock, which has ever ſince obtained the name of the French rock, and is ſituated about 2000 yards directly eaſt from the ſouth-eaſt angle of the town; they alſo raiſed a battery of two guns on the iſland of Seringham, from which they fired acroſs the

the Caveri at the northern gate of the city, to interrupt the communication of the inhabitants with the river; theſe guns, as well as thoſe on the French rock, were at too great a diſtance to make any impreſſion on the walls. By theſe works alone they hoped to reduce the city; the inſufficiency of them ſoon raiſed in the Engliſh battalion a contempt of their courage and military abilities, and it was now that they began to be aſhamed of having retreated before ſuch an enemy; and judging, as uſual, from events, to blame their commander for an exceſs of caution in his retreat, of which their own panicks had been the principal cauſe: for captain Gingen was undoubtedly a man of courage, and had ſeen much ſervice in Europe; but having had no experience againſt an Indian army, fell into the error of imagining that the cavalry of Chunda-ſaheb would act with all the vigour of which their number and appearance ſeemed capable. His prudence, if improper before, became abſolutely neceſſary now, as the French had taken poſſeſſion of poſts in which they could do no harm to the town, but from which they could not be driven without great loſs: he therefore determined to preſerve his men, whilſt the enemy fatigued their troops and exhauſted their ammunition to no purpoſe: and in this intention kept the greateſt part of the battalion and Sepoys encamped cloſe to the weſtern ſide of the town, where they were out of the reach of annoyance. 1751.

To ſave that part of the wall againſt which the enemy's principal battery fired, a glacis was raiſed to ſuch a height as left nothing but the parapet expoſed; and the grenadiers, commanded by captain Dalton, were poſted behind this glacis: an entrenchment was flung up between the French rock and the ſouth-eaſt angle of the town, in which the company of Coffres were poſted, to protect from ſurprizes the Nabob's cavalry encamped to the ſouth; and to oppoſe the enemy's battery in the iſland, two guns were mounted cloſe to the ſouthern bank of the river.

To infilade theſe, the French mounted two guns on the ſame ſide of the river; but were one night driven from this poſt by captain Dalton: they, a few days after, ſurprized the Engliſh entrenchment oppoſite to the French rock, and carried off the captain and nine Coffres; and

theſe.

1751. theſe two were the only enterprizes made on either ſide during the month of October. The enemy's batteries indeed fired conſtantly and ſmartly every day, and damaged ſome houſes, but made no impreſſion on the defences of the town; they ſupplied the defenders with a great number of cannon-balls, all of which had the Engliſh mark, being the ſame that the ſhips had fired againſt Pondicherry, with as little effect as they were now thrown away againſt Tritchanopoly.

But although little was to be feared from the efforts of an enemy who ſeemed ignorant of the firſt principles of a regular attack, yet every thing was to be apprehended from the poverty to which the Nabob was reduced. His troops threatened to deſert: the expences of the Engliſh battalion, which uſed to be furniſhed from his treaſury, began to be defrayed by that of Fort St. David, and he had no reaſon to believe that they would continue to ſupport him any longer than there was a probability of extricating him out of his diſtreſſes; and theſe he foreſaw would increaſe every day, unleſs he could obtain an army equal to that of Chunda-ſaheb, whoſe ſuperiority had hitherto deterred the Engliſh troops from making any vigorous efforts.

The only prince in the peninſula from whoſe ſituation, power, and inclination, the Nabob could expect the aſſiſtance which he ſtood ſo much in need of, was the king of Myſore. The territory of this Indian prince is bounded to the eaſt by the ſouthern part of the Carnatic, and the kingdom of Tritchanopoly; and to the weſt it extends, in ſome parts, within 30 miles of the ſea-coaſt of Malabar. His annual revenue is computed at 20,000000 of rupees; and the whole nation bore a mortal hatred to Chunda-ſaheb, who, during the time that he governed Tritchanopoly, formed a deſign of conquering the country, and beſieged for ſeveral months Carour, the ſtrongeſt of their frontier towns to the eaſtward. The king of Myſore being an infant, the government was adminiſtered by his uncle, who acted with unlimited power: to this regent, called in the country, the Dallaway of Myſore, Mahomed-ally applied for aſſiſtance; and finding that the dread of Chunda-ſaheb's ſucceſſes was not alone a ſufficient motive to induce him to take up arms, he agreed to all the terms which the Myſorean demanded, and theſe were very exorbitant. The Nabob ratified the treaty by his oath, and the Dal-

laway

laway ſet about aſſiſting him with efficacy. In conſequence of this ne- 1751.
gociation, a party of 70 horſemen arrived at Tritchanopoly in the beginning of October from Seringapatnam, the capital of Myſore. They brought five hundred thouſand rupees: great reſpect was ſhewn to their officer; and the day after his arrival a ſkirmiſh happened, which, though inconſiderable, gave him a favourable opinion of the Nabob's European allies. A platoon, with two or three companies of Sepoys, were ſent to cut down wood at a grove ſituated about a mile and a half ſouth-eaſt from the city. The enemy having intelligence of this detachment, ſent a large body of cavalry to cut off their retreat: their march being diſcovered from the rock in the city, the grenadiers, with ſome Sepoys, and one field piece, were ſent to ſupport the firſt party, and the troop of Myſoreans accompanied them. Captain Dalton meeting the wood-carts loaded, ordered them to proceed to the town by a diſtant road, and forming the two parties into one column, with the field piece in front, marched towards the enemy, inſtead of returning directly to the city. He firſt met the French dragoons, who halted on a ſmall eminence to reconnoitre, and waited there until they received the fire of a platoon, on which they retreated to bring up the body of Chunda-ſaheb's cavalry, who remained at ſome diſtance in the rear. Theſe came up ſome time after at full ſpeed, flouriſhing their ſwords, and made a halt within point blank ſhot, to draw the fire of the Engliſh troops before they charged; but captain Dalton ordered his men to preſerve it, and wait with fixed bayonets in cloſe order. The field piece alone was fired, and the firſt ſhot diſmounted three Moors, and a few more diſcharges put the whole body to flight. They left 22 horſes killed on the plain, and the Myſoreans took five priſoners, together with their horſes; which at their return, a few days after, they carried in a kind of triumph to their own country.

The French continued to bombard the town without any change in their poſition; and in the latter end of November the king of Myſore's army began to aſſemble at Carour, ſituated about 50 miles from Tritchanopoly, and cloſe to the bank of the Coleroon; he likewiſe took into his pay 6000 Morattoes, under the command of Morari-row, often mentioned in this hiſtory: 1000 of them were ſent to ſecond the efforts

1751. of captain Clive in the Arcot province; and in the beginning of December, 500 under the command of Innis-Khan, a brave and active officer, came to Tritchanopoly. The day after their arrival, they went boldly to reconnoitre the plain, where none of the Nabob's diſpirited cavalry had ever ventured to ſhew themſelves, and finding a ſmall detached camp of about 200 horſe, which had lain four months unmoleſted near the French rock; they rode into it ſword in hand, and brought off every thing they found with the greateſt compoſure, ſhewing no fear at the ſwarms of Chunda-ſaheb's cavalry, who mounted and marched towards them from their great camp.

After this exploit, the Morattoes went out ſeveral days ſucceſſively to reconnoitre; and Innis-Khan having obſerved that the French dragoons were much more alert than any of Chunda-ſaheb's cavalry, mounting and advancing on every alarm, he formed the deſign of drawing them into an ambuſcade; and having communicated his plan to captain Gingen, a party of Europeans, with two field pieces, were detached before day, who entering a large and deep water-courſe, which runs acroſs the plain to the ſouth of the city, concealed themſelves in it, within 400 yards of the French rock, and at the ſame time Innis Khan, with 300 horſemen, marched out from his encampment on the weſt ſide of the town. The ſurface of the plain round Tritchanopoly is very uneven, and full of hollow ways. The Morattoe taking a large circuit, placed his men in a hollow, where, when diſmounted, they could not be perceived either from the French rock or that in the city. Every thing remained quiet in both camps until noon, when 40 Morattoes, mounted on the beſt horſes, ſet out from the camp, and keeping out of cannon-ſhot of the French rock, proceeded to the eaſtward of it, and then galloped ſword in hand directly to the enemy's camp, where they made no ſmall hurry and confuſion, either cutting down or driving all the foragers they met quite up to the tents. This provoking the French, 60 dragoons ſallied, and were followed ſlowly by 400 of Chunda-ſaheb's cavalry. The Morattoes retreated ſlowly before them, halting as they halted, but always keeping at the diſtance of muſket-ſhot from them: and in this manner they led the enemy as far as the French rock, when

Mr.

Mr. Piſchard, a brave officer, exaſperated at the repeated defiances of ſuch a handful of men, formed his troop, and leaving the Mooriſh cavalry, ſet out in purſuit of them at full ſpeed. They now flew before the dragoons, until they had led them inſenſibly out of the reach of the French artillery on the rock, and beyond their own party in ambuſcade; when theſe mounting in an inſtant, ſallied from the hollow way, and charged the dragoons impetuouſly in the rear, whilſt the flying party wheeling, attacked them with equal fury in front. The action was over in an inſtant; the French had only time to diſcharge a few piſtols, and were all cut to pieces, excepting 10, who had not been able to keep up with the reſt. The detachment of Chunda-ſaheb's cavalry, either from cowardice, or ſuſpicion of the ſtratagem, never ſtirred from the rock; but the officer who commanded in that poſt detached 100 men to ſuccour his unfortunate friends. Lieutenant Truſler poſted in the entrenchment oppoſite the rock, ſeeing them march, and not knowing the ſucceſs of the Morattoes, immediately advanced with the company of Coffrees to oblige the party to return, who finding all loſt on the plain, haſtened back and ſaved the rock, which Truſler was on the point of carrying. The ſucceſs of this ambuſcade diſpirited the enemy ſo much, that they ſuffered their dead to lay on the plain without venturing out to bury them; and when, two days after, the Engliſh went to perform this charitable office, they found the bodies devoured by the jackals. 1751.

The Morattoes, on the other hand, were ſo much elevated, and conceived ſo deſpicable an opinion of the enemy, that they preſſed their allies to march out and offer them battle: promiſing, that if the Engliſh battalion would engage the French, they would take care that it ſhould not be in the leaſt incommoded by Chunda-ſaheb's cavalry, although theſe were 12,000, and they themſelves only 500. The reaſonable objections made to this hardy propoſal ſatisfied them, until the arrival of Baſin-row with his body of 1000 men from the Arcot country; when thinking that this reinforcement rendered them a full match for the enemy, they aſpired at the glory of finiſhing the war themſelves, and became more and more ſollicitous for a general engagement, in which they promiſed to

1751. charge the French battalion on both flanks: finding that the English ſtill declined to put any thing to a riſque until the arrival of the Myſore army, and of a reinforcement expected from Fort St. David; they did not ſcruple to tell them, that they were not the ſame kind of men as thoſe they had ſeen fighting ſo gallantly under captain Clive.

In the mean time the army of Myſore, with 4000 Morattoes under Morari-row, had aſſembled on the frontier of Carour; and the regent, after many delays, at laſt yielded to the preſſing ſollicitations of the Nabob, and prepared to march to Tritchanopoly; when the enemy having intelligence of his intention, ventured to detach a ſtrong party of Europeans, cavalry and Sepoys, to the village of Kiſtnavaram, ſituated 30 miles to the weſt of the city in the high road to Myſore: they found the place, although fortified, without a garriſon; and as ſoon as they were in poſſeſſion of it, began to improve the defences, ſpreading a report, that if the Myſoreans offered to move, they would attack them, and afterwards pillage their country. This ſtopped the regent's march, and he wrote to the Nabob deſiring that a ſtrong party of Europeans might be ſent to his aſſiſtance without delay, as he was utterly ignorant of the manner in which he ought to conduct himſelf againſt white men who fought with muſketry and cannon.

Lieutenant Truſler was detached on this ſervice with 40 Europeans and 100 Sepoys; but it ſoon appearing that this force was inſufficient, captain Cope proceeded with 100 more Europeans and 2 ſmall field pieces. He was inſtructed to diſlodge the enemy at all events, and found them poſted in a much ſtronger ſituation than he expected. The village was incloſed by a mud wall, flanked by round towers, and in the center of it was a fort: the northern ſide was cloſe to the bank of the Coleroon, and the other ſides were ſurrounded by a deep moraſs, paſſable only in one part to the weſtward; to defend which, the French had flung up on an eminence an entrenchment at the diſtance of gun-ſhot from the village. Captain Cope encamped to the weſt of this eminence, which he intended to attack before day-break, but by ſome miſtake the troops were not ready before the ſun was riſen, by which time the enemy had reinforced the poſt, and had lined ſeveral banks

and water-courſes leading to it with Sepoys; he nevertheleſs perſiſted in his intention; but the forlorn-hope coming to a bank which ſheltered them from the enemy's fire, could not be prevailed on to advance beyond it, and this example was followed by the reſt. Lieutenant Felix, received a ſhot through the body, as he ſtood encouraging them on the top of the bank; and ſoon after, captain Cope, returning with a platoon from the reſerve, was mortally wounded: on which diſaſters the whole party retreated to their camp in diſorder. 1751.

Captain Dalton was ſent from Tritchanopoly to take the command, and found the detachment joined by the van of the Myſore army; and two days after the regent himſelf came up with the reſt: the whole conſiſted of 12000 horſe and 8000 foot, including the Morattoes. He immediately deſired a conference with captain Dalton, whom he received with great politeneſs, admiring, not without aſtoniſhment, the martial appearance and regularity of the Engliſh troops; and forming naturally the ſame high opinion of the French, he declared, that he ſhould neither expoſe his men nor loſe time in attacking them, but proceed at midnight with half the army directly to Tritchanopoly by another road at ſome diſtance on the plain, leaving the reſt with captain Dalton, whom he requeſted to divert the enemy's attention by a falſe attack until he was out of the reach of danger: and, not content with theſe precautions, he deſired that ſome Europeans might accompany him as a ſafeguard to his perſon. Theſe diſpoſitions anſwering the purpoſe for which the detachment was ſent, captain Dalton encouraged him in his reſolution, and at midnight began to ſkirmiſh againſt the enemy's poſts, which he kept alarmed until morning, by which time the rear of the regent's diviſion was out of ſight. This ſervice proved to be much more neceſſary than it firſt appeared to be: for ſuch was the military ignorance of the Myſoreans, that they were diſcovered in the night paſſing acroſs the plain with ten thouſand lights, as if they had been marching in the proceſſion of an Indian wedding. 1752.

The next day the reſt of their army ſet off, deſiring captain Dalton to remain before the village until they were out of ſight, and promiſed to halt and wait for him; but they were no ſooner out of danger than they hurried away to join the regent. Some hours after, the Engliſh de-

1752. tachment decamped, and paſſing by Kiſtnavaram without moleſtation from the garriſon, returned to Tritchanopoly, where they arrived on the 6th of February, and the French ſoon after recalled their detachment.

The junction of the Myſoreans determined the king of Tanjore to declare for the Nabob; and ſoon after their arrival he ſent to Tritchanopoly 3000 horſe and 2000 foot, under the command of his general Monack-jee. The Polygar Tondeman, whoſe country lies between Tanjore and Madura likewiſe ſent 400 horſe and 3000 Colleries: theſe are a people almoſt ſavage, who, under ſeveral petty chiefs, inhabit the woods between Tritchanopoly and Cape Comarin; their name in their own language ſignifies Thieves, and juſtly deſcribes their character: their weapon is a pike 18 feet long, with which they creep along the ground, and uſe it with great addreſs in ambuſcades; but the principal ſervice they render to an army is, by ſtealing or killing the horſes of the enemy's camp. Thus the force of Mahomed-ally became on a ſudden ſuperior to that of Chunda-ſaheb; for the troops of his allies joined to his own, formed a body of 20,000 cavalry, 6000 of which were Morattoes, and of 20,000 infantry. The army of Chunda-ſaheb had likewiſe, ſince their arrival before Tritchanopoly, been augmented to 15,000 horſe and 20,000 foot, by the junction of 3000 horſe commanded by Allum-Khan, the governor of Madura, and of 4000 Peans and Colleries belonging to the Polygar, Morawa, whoſe country lies to the ſouth of the kingdom of Tanjore. The king of Myſore, impatient to be put in poſſeſſion of the places which Mahomed-ally had agreed to make in return for his aſſiſtance, preſſed the Engliſh battalion to make a general attack on the enemy with the whole army, and Morari-row, the Morattoe, ſeconded him very ſtrongly in this propoſal; but captain Gingen knowing that theſe Indian troops were capable of rendering very little ſervice againſt fortified poſts defended by Europeans, and conſidering that if the Engliſh battalion, on whom the brunt would lay, ſhould ſuffer ſeverely in theſe attacks, ſuch a loſs would be irreparable, he determined to wait until he was reinforced by a body of Europeans, which were preparing to take the field in the province of Arcot.

Here the ſcattered troops of Raja-ſaheb no ſooner ſaw the Engliſh retire to their garriſons, after the taking of Conjevaram, than they re-

aſſembled

assembled and moved, in the beginning of January, down to the sea- 1752.
coast, carrying their ravages into the company's territory of Ponomalee, where they burnt several villages, and plundered the country houses built by the English at the foot of St. Thomas's mount: after these hostilities, they returned to Conjevaram, and having repaired the damages the pagoda had sustained from the English, they garrisoned it with 300 Sepoys, and then kept the field between this place and the fort of Ponomalee, which they sometimes threatened to attack. The violences they committed, and the contributions they levied, impaired the Nabob's as well as the Company's revenues so much, that the presidency determined to make an effort, with all the force they could assemble, to reduce this enemy before they sent a reinforcement to Tritchanopoly. Captain Clive appointed to the command, returned in the beginning of February to Madrass, where, whilst he was employed in levying Sepoys, a detachment of 100 Europeans arrived from Bengal: with these, and 80 more from the garrison of Madrass, he took the field the 2d of February, and was the same day joined by 200 Europeans and 500 Sepoys from the garrison of Arcot. His whole force united consisted of 380 Europeans, 1300 Sepoys, with 6 field pieces: the enemy were 2500 horse, 2000 Sepoys, and 400 Europeans, with a large train of artillery: and, notwithstanding this superiority, they no sooner heard of the preparations that the English were making to attack them, than they fortified themselves strongly in their camp at Vendalore, a village situated about 25 miles south-west of Madrass. Captain Clive marched towards them with an intent of attacking their camp by surprize in the rear; but had not proceeded far before he received information that they had suddenly abandoned it, and had dispersed with the appearance of people terrified by some disaster, in so much that it was believed they had received news of some bad success at Tritchanopoly, and were hurrying thither to reinforce the army of Chunda-saheb. The English however continued their march, and took possession of the ground the enemy had quitted, where, some hours after, intelligence was received, that all the dispersed parties were re-united at Conjevaram.. It was then not doubted that they had received advice of the weakness of the garrison

at

1752. at Arcot; and that they intended to take advantage of it by making a ſudden aſſault on the fort. Captain Clive therefore made a forced march of 20 miles to Conjevaram, where the garriſon of the pagoda ſurrendered on the firſt ſummons; and a few hours after, the conjecture which had been made of the enemy's intention was verified by news that they were in full march towards Arcot. The troops were too much fatigued to follow them immediately, but the next day took the ſame rout; and on their march, a letter was received from the commanding officer at Arcot, adviſing that they had entered the town, and ſkirmiſhed againſt the fort with muſketry for ſeveral hours, in expectation that the gates would have been opened to them by two officers of the Engliſh Sepoys, with whom they had carried on a correſpondence; but that the plot had been diſcovered, and the enemy finding their ſignals not anſwered, had quitted the city with precipitation, and it was not yet known what rout they had taken. In this uncertainty it was determined to haſten to Arcot.

The army arrived in ſight of Covrepauk at ſun-ſet, when the van marching in the high road without ſuſpicion, were fired upon from the right at no greater diſtance than 250 yards, by nine pieces of cannon. Theſe were the French artillery, poſted in a thick grove of mango trees, which had a ditch and a bank in front: the fire did ſome miſchief before it could be either anſwered or avoided; but luckily there was a water-courſe at a little diſtance to the left of the road, in which the infantry were ordered to take ſhelter, and the baggage to march back half a mile with one of the field pieces and a platoon to defend it; and two field pieces, ſupported by a platoon of Europeans with 200 Sepoys, were detached to oppoſe Raja-ſaheb's cavalry which appeared extending themſelves on the plain to the left of the water-courſe; in the mean time the reſt of the artillery, drawn up on the right, anſwered the enemy's fire from the grove: the French infantry entered the water-courſe, and advanced along it in a column of ſix men in front: the Engliſh formed in the ſame order, and a fire was kept up on both ſides for two hours, by moon-light, during which neither ventured to come to the puſh of bayonet. The enemy's cavalry made ſeveral unſucceſsful

ſucceſsful attacks both on the party oppoſed to them, and the baggage in the rear: but their artillery in the grove being anſwered only by three pieces of cannon, did execution in proportion to this ſuperiority, and either killed or diſabled ſo many of the Engliſh gunners that prudence ſeemed to dictate a retreat, unleſs their cannon could be taken. Captain Clive did not deſpair of this laſt reſource, and at ten at night ſent one Shawlum, a ſerjeant, who ſpoke the country languages, with a few Sepoys to reconnoitre: he returned and reported that the enemy had poſted no guards in the rear of the grove; on which intelligence 200 of the beſt Europeans and 400 Sepoys were immediately ordered to proceed thither under the command of lieutenant Keene, with Shawlum as their guide. Captain Clive himſelf accompanied the detachment half way, and on his return found the troops he had left fighting in the water-courſe ſo much diſpirited by the departure of Keene's detachment, that they were on the point of taking flight, and ſome had already run away; he, however, not without difficulty, rallied them, and the firing was renewed. In the mean time Keene taking a large circuit, came directly oppoſite to the rear of the grove, and halted at the diſtance of 300 yards from it, whilſt enſign Symmonds advanced alone to examine the enemy's diſpoſition. This officer had not proceeded far before he came to a deep trench, in which a large body, conſiſting of all the enemy's Sepoys, whoſe ſervice had not been demanded in the water-courſe, were ſitting down to avoid the random ſhots of the fight. They challenged Symmonds, and prepared at firſt to ſhoot him, but deceived by his ſpeaking French, ſuffered him to paſs as a French officer; he then went on to the grove, where he perceived, beſides the men employed at the guns, 100 Europeans ſtationed to ſupport them, who only kept a look-out towards the field of battle, and paſſing in his return at a diſtance to the right of the trench where he had found the enemy's Sepoys, he rejoined his own detachment; who immediately marched by the ſame way he had returned, and entering the grove unperceived, gave their fire in a general volley at the diſtance of 30 yards. It fell heavy, and aſtoniſhed the enemy ſo much that they did not return a ſingle ſhot, but inſtantly aban- 1752.

1752. abandoned their guns, every man endeavouring to ſave himſelf by precipitate flight. Many of them ran into a choultry in the grove, where they were ſo crowded together that they were not able to make uſe of their arms. The Engliſh drew up before the choultry, and to ſpare the impending ſlaughter of their fire, offered quarter, which was accepted with joy, and the Frenchmen coming out one by one, as they were ordered, delivered up their arms, and were made priſoners. The Engliſh troops fighting at the water-courſe were immediately convinced of the ſucceſs of the detachment, by the ſudden ſilence of the enemy's artillery: but the enemy's infantry remained ignorant of it, and continued the fight, until ſome of the fugitives from the grove informed them of the diſaſter, on which they immediately took flight, and their horſe diſperſed at the ſame time. The field being thus cleared, the whole army united, and remained under arms until day-break, when they found themſelves in poſſeſſion of nine field pieces, three cohorn mortars, and 60 European priſoners. They likewiſe counted 50 dead on the field, and not leſs than 300 Sepoys: for the enemy had expoſed theſe troops more freely than the others. Of the Engliſh, 40 Europeans and 30 Sepoys were killed, and a greater number of both wounded.

Part of the fugitives took ſhelter in the neighbouring fort of Covrepauk, which was ſummoned to ſurrender; but the governor returned anſwer, that the troops of Raja-ſaheb were much more numerous than his garriſon, and, contrary to his inclination, intended to defend the fort: a detachment was therefore ſent to inveſt it, but before they arrived the fugitives abandoned it, upon which he ſubmitted.

From hence the troops proceeded to Arcot, and the next day marched towards Veloor, not in expectation of reducing the place, but in hopes that ſome hoſtilities would induce Mortiz-ally to pay a contribution, or at leaſt to deliver up the elephants and baggage, which Raja-ſaheb had depoſited in his fort ſoon after he had raiſed the ſiege of Arcot; but before the troops came in ſight of Veloor, captain Clive received an order from the preſidency of Fort St. David, to repair thither with all his

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force, for it was now determined to ſend them to Tritchanopoly. He 1752.
therefore changed his rout, and marching acroſs the country, came to the ſpot where Nazir-jing had been killed: here he found a riſing town projected by the vanity of Mr. Dupleix to commemorate that deteſtable action, and called Dupleix-Fateabad, or the town of Dupleix's victory: it is ſaid, that he was preparing a column, with a pompous inſcription in the French, Malabar, Perſic, and Indoſtan languages, which he intended to erect in the middle of the town, where he had already cauſed coins ſtruck with ſymbols of the victory to be buried. The troops did not quit this place until they had razed to the ground all that was erected, after which they proceeded to Fort St. David. During the whole march they no where met a ſingle ſquadron of the enemy's troops. The defeat at Couvrepauk ſucceeding to their former diſgraces, intirely broke their force as well as their ſpirits; their horſe either diſbanded, or took ſervice with the governors in the provinces who ſtill acknowledged Chunda-ſaheb; and the French troops and Sepoys were recalled to Pondicherry, where Mr. Dupleix was ſo incenſed againſt Raja-ſaheb, that he would not ſuffer him for ſeveral days to appear in his preſence. Thus the Engliſh ſucceſſes in the Carnatic recovered to Mahomed-ally an extent of country 30 miles in breadth and 60 in length, the annual revenues of which, including that of the famous pagoda at Tripaty, amounted to 400,000 pagodas.

Three days after their arrival at Fort St. David, the troops were ready to take the field again under the command of captain Clive, when, on the 15th of March, major Lawrence arrived from England, and two days after put himſelf at the head of the detachment. It conſiſted of 400 Europeans and 1100 Sepoys, with eight field pieces, who eſcorting a large quantity of military ſtores, marched through the king of Tanjore's country towards Tritchanopoly.

Here the Myſoreans and Morattoes were ſo much diſpleaſed with the precaution of captain Gingen, who conſtantly refuſed to attack the enemy's poſts before he was joined by the expected reinforcement, that the Dalloway of Myſore, diſtreſſed by the great expences of his army, had more than once been on the point of returning to his own country: however, him the Nabob appeaſed, by making over

1752. the revenues of all the diſtricts which had been recovered ſince his arrival: but Morari-row was ſo exaſperated by this inactivity, which deprived his troops of opportunities to get plunder, and removed the proſpect of more important acquiſitions, which he expected from this war; that he meditated defection, and began to treat with Chunda-ſaheb.

Both armies were equally ſollicitous of the fate of the approaching reinforcement, and Mr. Dupleix ſent repeated orders to Mr. Law, who commanded the French battalion, to intercept them at all events. They arrived on the 26th of March at a fort belonging to the king of Tanjore, within 20 miles of Tritchanopoly; where they depoſited a large part of the ſtores, which would have retarded their march and embarraſſed their operations. The next day proceeding along the high road, which paſſeth within point blank ſhot of Coilady, major Lawrence received intelligence that the enemy had poſted at this fort a ſtrong party with artillery: on which he ordered his guides to look out for another road; but they, by ſome miſtake, led him within reach of the very ſpot he wanted to avoid, and the troops were unexpectedly fired upon by ſix pieces of cannon from acroſs the Caveri. To divert this fire from the baggage, amongſt which it created no ſmall confuſion, it was anſwered from the rear diviſion of guns conſiſting of four field pieces, ſupported by 100 Europeans, under the command of captain Clive, whilſt the line marched on inclining to the left, which direction ſoon brought them out of the enemy's reach, but not before 20 Europeans were killed. They then halted, and were joined by the rear diviſion, after which they continued their march without meeting any farther interruption, and in the evening halted within 10 miles of Tritchanopoly. From hence captain Gingen detached in the night 100 Europeans, with 50 dragoons, who joined the reinforcement before morning; and at day-break captain Dalton was likewiſe detached from the city with his own company of grenadiers, and another of the battalion, in all 200 Europeans, 400 Sepoys, and four field pieces, who were ordered to lay at a rock called the Sugar-loaf, about three miles ſouth of the French rock, from whence they were to join the reinforcement, as ſoon as it came in ſight.

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In the mean time the major advanced towards Elimiſerum. This is a rock with a fortified pagoda on the ſummit, where the French had mounted cannon: it is ſituated three miles to the ſouth-eaſt of the French rock; and between theſe two poſts the greateſt part of the enemy's army were drawn up in order of battle: the reſt were in a line which extended from the French rock to the village of Chuckleyapollam by the river-ſide. The major informed of this diſpoſition made to ſurround him if he paſſed to the north of Elimiſerum, directed his march to the ſouth of it; and before he came in ſight of the enemy, the whole of the confederate troops were in the field, and by their appearance deterred them from making any detachments to attack him. At noon, captain Dalton's party, with the Myſoreans and the Nabob's troops, met him half-way between Elimiſerum and the ſugar-loaf rock, whilſt Morari-row with the Morattoes remained ſkirmiſhing faintly with the enemy. 1752.

The ſun ſtriking exceſſively hot, the troops were ordered to halt and refreſh themſelves; but in leſs than half an hour the ſcouts came in at full ſpeed, bringing intelligence that the whole of the enemy's army was advancing, and that the fire of their cannon had put the Morattoes to flight: theſe ſoon after came up, and forming with the reſt of the allies in the rear of the Europeans and Sepoys, followed them ſlowly at a diſtance.

Captain Clive having reconnoitered the enemy, reported, that there was a large choultry, with ſome ſtone buildings, not far from the front of the French battalion, which they, buſied in forming their line, had neglected to take poſſeſſion of. On this advice he was ordered to proceed with the firſt diviſion of artillery, ſupported by the grenadiers, as faſt as poſſible to the choultry, whilſt the reſt of the column moved up ſlowly in regular order. The enemy, inſtead of ſending a detachment to prevent him, contented themſelves with cannonading as their battalion advanced, which approached within 800 yards of the choultry by the time he arrived there. They now made a puſh againſt his artillery, which was ſo well pointed, that it kept them at a diſtance until the reſt of the battalion and Sepoys came up. The confederate troops, unwilling to expoſe their horſes to a cannonade,

1752. halted at a diſtance; but thoſe of Chunda-ſaheb, commanded by Allum-Khan, the governor of Madura, kept cloſe to the rear of the French. A cannonade enſued, without doubt, for the time it laſted, the hotteſt that had ever been ſeen on the plains of Indoſtan; for the French fired from 22 pieces of cannon and the Engliſh from nine. Such of the Engliſh troops as were not employed at the guns found ſhelter behind the choultry and the buildings near it, whilſt the whole of the enemy's army ſtood expoſed on the open plain, ſuffering in proportion to this diſadvantage. The French battalion in half an hour began to waver, and drew off their guns to a greater diſtance, upon which the Engliſh advanced their artillery, and the men of the battalion who ſupported them were ordered to ſit down with their arms grounded; by which precaution many lives were ſaved. They ſtill continued to retreat, but Chunda-ſaheb's cavalry kept their ground for ſome time, and ſuſtained the cannonade with much more firmneſs than had ever been obſerved in Indian troops: they were ſpirited by the example of their commander, Allum-Khan, whoſe head was at length taken off by a cannon-ball, as he was encouraging them to advance; on which diſaſter they gave way and retreated likewiſe. The Captains Clive and Dalton continuing to advance with the firſt diviſion of artillery, followed the French, who flung themſelves into a great water-courſe near the French rock, where they were on the point of being enfiladed by a fire that would have made great havock amongſt them, when major Lawrence, ſatisfied with the advantages that had been gained, and unwilling to expoſe the men to more fatigue under ſuch a burning ſun, ordered the purſuit to ceaſe. Seven men of the battalion were ſtruck dead by the heat, and 14 were killed or diſabled by the cannonade. The French loſt about 40 men, and 300 of Chunda-ſaheb's troops, with 285 horſes and an elephant, were found dead on the plain. The ſucceſs of this day might have been much greater, had the confederate troops behaved with common activity, inſtead of which they remained at a diſtance idle ſpectators, nor could they be prevailed on to make a ſingle charge, even when the enemy's cavalry retreated. This inaction proceeded not from want of bravery, but from the treachery of Morari-row, who being at this time in treaty with Chunda-ſaheb, was unwilling to bring his Morat-

toes to action; and ſuch was the opinion entertained of their courage, that none of the reſt of the allies would venture to fight without them. 1752.

Major Lawrence continuing his march, arrived in the evening at Tritchanopoly, and the next day conferred with the Nabob and the other generals on the plan of their future operations: they concurred in opinion that a general attack ſhould be made without delay on the enemy's camp; but when the time was to be fixed, he found both Moors and Indians ſo attached to lucky and unlucky days, that ſeveral were likely to be loſt before they would agree in the notion of a fortunate hour, without which none of them thought it ſafe to venture an engagement. In the mean time, thinking it not prudent to ſuffer the enemy to recover from the impreſſion which they had received on the day of his arrival, he determined to attempt as much againſt them as could be executed with his own force; and perceiving that the French poſts were too ſtrongly fortified to be carried without the aſſiſtance of the whole army, he reſolved to attack the camp of Chunda-ſaheb, which extended along the river without entrenchments. On the 1ſt of April at night, captain Dalton, with 400 men, was ordered to march, and, by taking a large circuit, to come in at the eaſtern extremity of his camp, which he was to enter, beat up, and ſet fire to. The Engliſh troops, from their long inactivity, knew ſo little of the ground about Tritchanopoly, that they were obliged to truſt to Indian guides; and theſe being ordered to conduct them out of the reach of the enemy's advanced poſts, fell into the other extreme, and led them ſeveral miles out of their way, and through ſuch bad roads, that when the morning-ſtar appeared, they found themſelves between Elimiſerum and the French rock, two miles from Chunda-ſaheb's camp, and in the center of all their poſts. The approach of day not only rendered it impoſſible to ſurprize the enemy, as was intended, but likewiſe expoſed the party, if they perſiſted, to the danger of being ſurrounded by their whole force: it was therefore determined to march back without delay to Tritchanopoly. The French diſcovered them as they were retreating, and gueſſing at the intention for which they had been ſent, thought themſelves no longer ſafe to the ſouth of the Caveri, and took the reſolution of retreating that very day to the pagodas on the iſland.

Chunda-

1752. Chunda-ſaheb ſtrenuouſly oppoſed this reſolution, for which indeed there appeared no neceſſity; but finding that he could not prevail on Mr. Law to alter it, he gave orders for his own troops to croſs the river likewiſe. The retreat, as is uſual when meaſures have not been previouſly concerted, was made with ſo much precipitation, that his army had time to tranſport only a part of their baggage, but none of the vaſt quantity of proviſions with which they had ſtored their magazines; theſe they therefore ſet fire to. The French carrying off their artillery, abandoned all their poſts excepting Elimiſerum, and before the next morning the whole army was on the iſland, where Mr. Law took up his quarters in the pagoda of Jumbakiſna; of Chunda-ſaheb's troops ſome went into the pagoda of Seringham, others encamped under the northern wall, and the reſt extended farther eaſtward along the bank of the Coleroon.

The next day, captain Dalton was ſent with the company of grenadiers, ſome Morattoes and Sepoys, to attack Elimiſerum: the party had with them two pieces of cannon and a mortar, the tranſporting of which through bad roads prevented them from arriving near the place before night, when captain Dalton with two others advanced to reconnoitre. Diſcovering no centinels, and finding the gate of the wall which ſurrounds the foot of the rock open, they concluded that the place was abandoned, and entering, began to aſcend the ſteps which led to the pagoda on the ſummit; but before they got there, the enemy alarmed by the neighing of the horſes, ran to their guns and fired upon the detachment, which they diſcovered, firſt by the light of their matches, and ſoon after by the blaze of ſome huts, to which the Morattoes, as is their cuſtom, had ſet fire. The ſmoke of the guns, and the darkneſs of the night, enabled captain Dalton and his companions to retreat unperceived; and as ſoon as he rejoined the detachment, he ſent ſome men to lodge themſelves under cover of a bank before the lower gate, where they were directed to remain until morning, in order to prevent the enemy from making their eſcape. But this party, deſirous of ſignalizing themſelves, imprudently exceeded their orders, and entering the lower gate, ran up the ſteps, and endeavoured to force the doors of the pagoda above; where they were received with a ſmart fire, which

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ſoon obliged them to retreat with five Europeans and ten Sepoys wounded. A reinforcement, was immediately ſent to take charge of the bank, and all remained quiet until morning, when the enemy perceiving that preparations were making to bombard them, ſurrendered. Fifteen Europeans, thirty Sepoys, and two pieces of cannon, one of them a fine 18 pounder, were found here; the ſmaller piece of cannon, with ſome Sepoys were left to garriſon this poſt, the reſt returned with the other gun to Tritchanopoly, which was preſented to the Nabob as the firſt trophy that had been taken during the campaign. Two days after, the grenadiers, who had always behaved with the ſpirit peculiar to this claſs of ſoldiers, gained another advantage. The great men of the allied army complained, that they were much diſturbed in their daily ablutions in the Caveri, by a gun which fired from a choultry lying half-way between the pagoda of Seringham and the river. Captain Dalton was ſent to attack this poſt, who concealed his men behind an old wall on the bank of the river, where they waited till near noon, when the great heat of the ſun induced a part of the enemy's guard to return to the camp, and the reſt to retire into the choultry to ſleep: the grenadiers then ruſhed acroſs the river, which was fordable, and entered the poſt with ſo much rapidity that they took the gun before the enemy had time to fire it more than once: it was brought away without any oppoſition, for ſome field pieces had been ſent to the river-ſide to cover the retreat. 1752.

Events of ſuch a nature as the attacks of Elimiſerum and the choultry, as well as ſeveral others, which appear in the courſe of this work, would have no influence in ſuch ſanguinary wars as moſt writers have only thought worthy of their attention: and theſe details may therefore by many be deemed equally tireſome and ſuperfluous; but the ſtreſs of this Indian war lying on the European allies, who rarely have exceeded a thouſand men on a ſide, the actions of a ſingle platoon in India may have the ſame influence on the general ſucceſs, as the conduct of a whole regiment in Europe: and to give a juſt idea of the ſuperiority of European arms, when oppoſed to thoſe of Indoſtan, is one of the principal intentions of this narrative. The new activity which began to appear in the Engliſh battalion, induced Morari-row to relinquiſh his correſpondence with Chunda-ſaheb, and

1752. impreſſed the enemy with terrors equal to thoſe which they had formerly raiſed both in the Engliſh and the Nabob's army: there ſeemed to be no ſenſe in their councils. The whole Carnatic lay before them, and by retreating into it they might protract the war until the want of money ſhould decide the conteſt; but inſtead of taking this ſtep, they ſuffered themſelves to be captivated by the apparent ſtrength of the two pagodas, and determined to ſtand their ground here, notwithſtanding that, by the deſtruction of their magazines, they were already reduced to the neceſſity of fetching their proviſions from a great diſtance: they were afraid to fight, and aſhamed to retreat.

At the ſame time nothing but a reſolution juſtified by very few examples, and bordering in appearance on raſhneſs, ſeemed capable of putting a ſpeedy end to the war, of which the expences had now greatly diſtreſſed the Eaſt India company's mercantile affairs. The intimacy and confidence with which major Lawrence diſtinguiſhed capt. Clive, permitted this officer to ſuggeſt to him the reſolution of dividing the army into two bodies, and detaching one of theſe under his own command to the north of the Coleroon, whilſt the other remained to the ſouth of the Caveri: this was riſquing the whole to gain the whole; for if the enemy ſhould overpower one of theſe bodies, by attacking it with their whole force, the Nabob's affairs would again be reduced to the brink of ruin; and if they neglected or failed in this attempt, they would infallibly be ruined themſelves. The propoſal, hardy as it was, was adopted by the major without any heſitation; and with a ſpirit of equity rarely poſſeſſed by competitors for glory, he was ſo far from taking umbrage at the author of this maſterly advice, that he determined in his own mind to give him the command of a ſeparate body, although he refrained from declaring his intention until he could reconcile it to the reſt of the captains in the battalion, who were all of them his ſuperiors in rank; but the ſcheme was no ſooner propoſed to the Nabob and the generals of the alliance, than the Morattoes and Myſoreans removed the difficulty, by declaring that they would not make any detachments of their troops if they were to be commanded by any other perſon. It was neceſſary to reduce the poſts of which the enemy were in poſſeſſion to the north of the Coleroon; to intercept the reinforcements which might come from Pondicherry

cherry through the ſtreights of Utatoor; and above all, that captain Clive's diviſion ſhould not be out of the reach of a forced march from the reſt of the army encamped near Tritchanopoly, leſt the whole of the enemy's force ſhould fall upon him before major Lawrence could move to his aſſiſtance. It was therefore determined to chuſe ſuch a central ſituation between the ſtreights of Utatoor and the Coleroon as would beſt anſwer all theſe intentions. Every thing being ſettled, captain Clive began his march in the night of the 6th of April with 400 Europeans, 700 Sepoys, 3000 Morattoes under the command of Innis-Khan, 1000 of the Tanjorine horſe, and eight pieces of artillery, two of which were battering cannon, and ſix of them field pieces. To conceal their march, they croſſed over into the iſland three miles to the eaſtward of Jumbakiſtna. The number of deep water-courſes which interſected this part of it, rendered the tranſporting of the cannon difficult and laborious; and whilſt the Europeans were employed at one of the water-courſes, a body of the enemy's Sepoys, returning from Coilady with a convoy of oxen laden with proviſions, came up, intending to paſs at the ſame place; and before they could retreat, received two or three ſmart vollies, which killed ſeveral of them. 1752.

The troops having paſſed the Coleroon before morning, proceeded ſeven miles to the north of it, and took poſſeſſion of the village of Samiavaram, in which are two pagodas about a quarter of a mile diſtant from each other, one on each ſide of the high road leading to Utatoor: theſe were allotted for the quarters of the Europeans and Sepoys; ravelins were immediately flung up before the gates, and a redoubt capable of receiving all the cannon was conſtructed to command the road to the north and ſouth. The Morattoes and Tanjorines encamped round the pagodas.

Whilſt the army were employed in theſe works, a party from Seringham took poſſeſſion of Munſurpet, a pagoda ſituated near the high road between Pitchandah and Samiavaram. It commanded a view of the country ſeveral miles; which advantage, joined to that of its ſituation, rendered it the beſt advanced poſt that could be choſe by either ſide; a detachment was therefore immediately ſent to diſlodge the enemy, who defended themſelves all day, killing an officer, three Europeans,

1752. and 10 Sepoys, and in the night made their eſcape to Pitchandah undiſcovered.

The next day a party of Sepoys, with a few Europeans, were detached to attack Lalguddy, a mud fort ſituated about ſeven miles to the eaſt of Seringham, cloſe to the bank of the Coleroon, and oppoſite to the eaſtern part of the enemy's late encampment to the ſouth of the Caveri. They kept a garriſon of Sepoys here, intending to make it an intermediate magazine of proviſions, which were to be brought from hence to their camp on the iſland as opportunity offered. The Sepoys attacking the fort by eſcalade, carried it after a faint reſiſtance, and found here a quantity of grain ſufficient for ten thouſand men for two months.

Mr. Dupleix, againſt whoſe orders Mr. Law had retreated to the north of the Caveri, was much alarmed at the critical ſituation to which the army of Chunda-ſaheb and his own troops were reduced. He, however, with his uſual perſeverance and activity, determined to make the greateſt efforts he was able to reinforce them; and immediately on receiving news that captain Clive was encamped at Samiavaram, detached 120 Europeans, 500 Sepoys, and four field pieces, with a large convoy of proviſions and ſtores. This party was led by Mr. D'Auteuil, who was empowered to take the command from Mr. Law. They arrived on the 14th of April at Utatoor, and intended, by making a large circuit to the weſt of Samiavaram, to gain in the night the bank of the Coleroon. The fate of the two armies depended in a great meaſure upon the ſucceſs or miſcarriage of this convoy and reinforcement. Captain Clive apprized of Mr. D'Auteuil's intention, ſet out the ſame night with the greateſt part of his force to intercept him; but Mr. D'Auteuil receiving advice of his approach, immediately turned back and regained the fort; on which captain Clive returned with the utmoſt expedition to Samiavaram, where he arrived in the morning. In the afternoon, Mr. Law got intelligence of his march, without hearing of his return, which could not naturally be ſuſpected, as Utatoor is 13 miles from Samiavaram: he therefore, as ſoon as it was dark, detached 80 Europeans, and 700 Sepoys,

to attack the few troops he imagined to be remaining there: of theſe men forty were Engliſh deſerters. This party arrived near the camp at midnight, when one of their ſpies informed the commanding officer that the troops which had marched againſt Mr. D'Auteuil were returned; but he, imputing the information either to cowardice or treachery, gave no credit to the ſpy, and proceeded; they were challenged by the advanced guard of Engliſh Sepoys, on which the officer of the deſerters, an Iriſhman, ſtept out and told them, that he was ſent by major Lawrence to reinforce captain Clive; and the reſt of the deſerters ſpeaking Engliſh likewiſe, confirmed the aſſertion, and perſuaded the Sepoys ſo fully, that they omitted the uſual precaution of aſking the counter word, which would certainly have diſcovered the ſtratagem; and ſent one of their body to conduct the enemy to the head-quarters. They continued their march through a part of the Morattoe camp, without giving or receiving any diſturbance until they came to the leſſer pagoda. Here they were challenged by the centinels, and by others who were poſted in a neighbouring choultry to the north of it, in which captain Clive lay aſleep. They returned the challenge by a volley into each place, and immediately entered the pagoda, putting all they met to the ſword. Captain Clive ſtarting out of his ſleep, and not conceiving it poſſible that the enemy could have advanced into the center of his camp, imputed the firing to his own Sepoys, alarmed by ſome attack at the ſkirts of the camp: he however ran to the upper pagoda, where the greateſt part of his Europeans were quartered, who having likewiſe taken the alarm, were under arms; and he immediately returned with 200 of them to the choultry. Here he now diſcovered a large body of Sepoys drawn up facing the ſouth, and firing at random. Their poſition, which looked towards the enemy's camp, joined to their confuſion, confirmed him in his conjecture that they were his own troops, who had taken ſome unneceſſary alarm. In this ſuppoſition he drew up his Europeans within 20 yards of their rear, and then going alone amongſt them, ordered the firing to ceaſe, upbraiding ſome with the panic he ſuppoſed them to have taken, and even ſtriking others. At length one of the Sepoys, who underſtood a little of the French language, diſcovering that he was an Engliſhman, attacked and wounded

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1752. him in two places with his ſword; but finding himſelf on the point of being overpowered, ran away to the lower pagoda: captain Clive, exaſperated at this inſolence from a man whom he imagined to be in his own ſervice, followed him to the gate, where, to his great ſurprize, he was accoſted by ſix Frenchmen: his uſual preſence of mind did not fail him in this critical occaſion, but ſuggeſting to him all that had happened, he told the Frenchmen, with great compoſure, that he was come to offer them terms; and if they would look out, they would perceive the pagoda ſurrounded by his whole army, who were determined to give no quarter if any reſiſtance was made. The firmneſs with which theſe words were delivered, made ſuch an impreſſion, that three of the Frenchmen ran into the pagoda to carry this intelligence, whilſt the other three ſurrendered their arms to captain Clive, and followed him towards the choultry, whither he haſtened, intending to order the Europeans to attack the body of Sepoys, whom he now firſt knew to be enemies; but theſe had already diſcovered the danger of their ſituation, and had marched out of the reach of the Europeans, who imagining that they did this in obedience to captain Clive's orders, made no motion to interrupt or attack them. Soon after, eight Frenchmen, who had been ſent from the pagoda to reconnoitre, fell in with the Engliſh troops, and were made priſoners; and theſe, with the other three which captain Clive had taken, were delivered to the charge of a ſerjeant's party, who not knowing, in this time of darkneſs and confuſion, that the enemy were in poſſeſſion of the lower pagoda, carried them thither; and on delivering them to the guard, found out their error; but ſuch was alſo the confuſion of the French in the pagoda, that they ſuffered the ſerjeant and his party to return unmoleſted. The reſt of the Engliſh troops had now joined the others, and captain Clive imagining that the enemy would never have attempted ſo deſperate an enterprize without ſupporting it with their whole army, deemed it abſolutely neceſſary to ſtorm the pagoda before the troops who were in it could receive any aſſiſtance. One of the two folding doors of the gateway had for ſome time been taken down to be repaired, and the other was ſtrongly ſtapled down, ſo that the remaining part of

the entrance would admit only two men abreaſt: the Engliſh ſoldiers made the attack, and continued it for ſome time with great reſolution; but the deſerters within fought deſperately, and killed an officer and fifteen men, on which the attack was ordered to ceaſe until day-break; and in the mean time ſuch a diſpoſition was made as might prevent thoſe in the pagoda from eſcaping, and at the ſame time oppoſe any other body which might come to their relief. At day-break the commanding officer of the French ſeeing the danger of his ſituation, made a ſally at the head of his men, who received ſo heavy a fire, that he himſelf, with twelve others who firſt came out of the gateway were killed by the volley; on which the reſt ran back into the pagoda. Captain Clive then advanced into the porch of the gate to parley with the enemy, and being weak with the loſs of blood, leaned, ſtooping forward, on the ſhoulders of two ſerjeants. The officer of the Engliſh deſerters preſented himſelf with great inſolence, and telling captain Clive, with abuſive language, that he would ſhoot him, fired his muſket. The ball miſſed him, but went through the bodies of both the ſerjeants on whom he was leaning, and they both fell mortally wounded. The Frenchmen had hitherto defended the pagoda in compliance with the Engliſh deſerters, but thinking it neceſſary to diſavow ſuch an outrage which might exclude them from any pretenſions to quarter, their officer immediately ſurrendered. By this time the body of the enemy's Sepoys had paſſed out of the camp with as little interruption as they had entered it; but orders having been ſent to the Morattoes to purſue them, Innis-Khan with all his men mounted at day-break, and came up with them in the open plain before they gained the bank of the Coleroon. The Sepoys no ſooner perceived them than they flung away their arms, and attempted to ſave themſelves by diſperſing; but the Morattoes, who never figure ſo much as in theſe cruel exploits; exerted themſelves with ſuch activity, that, according to their own report, not a ſingle man of 700 eſcaped alive; it is certain that none of them ever appeared to contradict this aſſertion. Beſides the eſcapes already mentioned, captain Clive had another, which was not diſcovered until the hurry of the day was over, when it was found that the volley which the enemy fired into the choultry 1752.

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Pitchandah and Utatoor were now the only poſts which the enemy held to the north of the Coleroon, but they were in poſſeſſion of Coilady, which commands the eaſtern extremity of the iſland; and leſt Mr. Law ſhould attempt to force his way on this ſide, major Lawrence detached Monack-jee the general of the Tanjorines to take it; and to the ſouth of the Caveri, where the enemy had no poſts, a line of troops were diſpoſed, which extended five miles on each ſide of the city of Tritchanopoly.

Monack-jee on the 26th of April took Coilady, and the enemy loſing here their laſt magazine of proviſions, became every day more and more diſtreſſed; but the hopes of being joined by Mr. D'Auteuil kept up their ſpirits, and prevented them from making any attempts to get out of the iſland: he ſtill remained at Utatoor watching ſome opportunity to make his way good to Seringham: it was therefore determined to attack him; but as the late attempt on Samiavaram ſhewed the neceſſity of keeping the army there intire, major Lawrence reſolved to ſend a party from his own diviſion on this ſervice. Accordingly captain Dalton on the 9th of May croſſed the rivers in the night with 150 Europeans, 400 Sepoys, 500 Morattoes, and four field pieces, one of them a 12 pounder; and halting ſome hours at Samiavaram, arrived at five the next evening at a choultry within two miles of Utatoor, where he intended to paſs the night, as the troops were much fatigued. There was at ſome diſtance in front of the choultry a village, which appearing a proper poſt for an advanced guard, ſome dragoons were ſent to reconnoitre it, who diſcovered that the enemy had already taken poſſeſſion of it; on which a party of Europeans and Sepoys were ſent to diſlodge them; this they effected with ſo much eaſe, that fluſhed with their ſucceſs, they purſued the enemy beyond the village, until they came in ſight of Mr. D'Auteuil marching out of Utatoor, who, inſtead of waiting to attack with his whole force, ſent forward a party to fall upon the Engliſh whilſt they were forming; a ſkirmiſh enſued, and the enemy was repulſed; but the Engliſh officer being mortally wounded, the detachment retreated

treated to the village, where they remained, and ſuſtained the fire of the enemy's cannon until the reſt of the troops came up. It was almoſt duſk, and captain Dalton concluding that the enemy might be deceived in their opinion of his ſtrength, and miſtake it for the whole of captain Clive's force, ventured to divide his men into two bodies, who marched to attack each flank of the enemy's line, whilſt a few Europeans left with the guns near the village cannonaded them in front. Mr. D'Auteuil no ſooner perceived this diſpoſition than it ſuggeſted to him the opinion it was intended to produce, and he retreated with great precipitation, purſued within a few yards of the walls of Utatoor: the Engliſh were on the point of getting poſſeſſion of one of his guns, when they were obliged to halt and face about, to defend themſelves againſt the enemy's cavalry, who taking advantage of the duſk of the evening, had made a circuit, and appeared unexpectedly in their rear. The Morattoes however galloping in, flung themſelves between, and the two bodies of cavalry remained ſome time firing carabines and piſtols, until one of the Engliſh 6 pounders came up, which after a few ſhot decided the conteſt, and obliged the enemy's horſe to retreat; the Morattoes then charged them ſword in hand, and drove them into the fort; but not without ſuffering themſelves; for ſeveral of them returned much wounded. The Engliſh fired at the fort from the rocks which are cloſe to the walls until eight o'clock, when they retreated back to the choultry, leaving an advanced guard of Europeans at the village, and 200 Morattoes, who promiſed to patrole all night, and give information the inſtant that the enemy made any motion to abandon the fort. 1752.

Mr. D'Auteuil continuing in his miſtake of the force which was come againſt him, no ſooner found that they had returned to the choultry, than he quitted the fort with all his troops, and marched away to Volcondah, leaving behind in the hurry a great quantity of military ſtores and ammunition, as well as refreſhments intended for the officers of Mr. Law's army. The Morattoes performed the duty they had undertaken ſo ill, that captain Dalton did not hear of the enemy's retreat until two in the morning, when it was too late to purſue them: he, however,

1752. ever, marched to the fort, and took poſſeſſion of all the enemy had left in it.

Mr. Law received no intelligence of captain Dalton's march acroſs the rivers; but the next morning diſcovering from the ſpire of Seringham, the detachment proceeding from Samiavaram towards Utatoor, imagined it to be a part of captain Clive's army; and on this ſuppoſition croſſed the Coleroon with all his Europeans and Sepoys, and a large body of cavalry. Captain Clive hearing of this motion, immediately marched to meet him with all his force, excepting the neceſſary guards for the camp, and came in ſight of the enemy juſt as their rear had croſſed the river. Mr. Law, ſtartled at the appearance of a force which exceeded his expectation, halted and formed his troops in a ſtrong ſituation along the bank of the river. Both armies remained in order of battle until evening, each having advantages which the other reſpected too much to venture to attack. Some ſkirmiſhes paſſed between the advanced Sepoys, and in the night the French re-croſſed the river.

Captain Dalton remained two days at Utatoor, when he received orders to rejoin major Lawrence; but by this time the Coleroon was ſo much ſwelled as to be impaſſable, and the troops at Samiavaram were preparing to avail themſelves of this opportunity to attack the enemy's poſt of Pitchandah, which could receive no ſuccours from the iſland till the waters ſubſided: he therefore, to forward this ſervice, put his detachment under captain Clive's command; and to prevent the diſputes which might ariſe from the ſuperiority of his rank, reſolved to act himſelf as a volunteer. On the 14th at night the army moved down to the river-ſide.

There runs along the northern bank of the Coleroon, from Pitchandah to the ground oppoſite the great pagoda of Seringham, a large mound of earth 50 feet broad at the top, thrown up by the people of the country to reſiſt the current of the river, which in this part ſets ſtrongly from the oppoſite ſhore whenever the waters riſe. The enemy's camp on the iſland lay oppoſite and within cannon-ſhot of this mound; it was therefore determined to employ the artillery againſt them until the battery againſt Pitchandah could be finiſhed. Every common ſoldier in an Indian

Indian army is accompanied either by a wife or a concubine; the officers 1752.
have ſeveral, and the generals whole ſeraglio's: beſides theſe the army is encumbered by a number of attendants and ſervants exceeding that of the fighting men; and to ſupply the various wants of this enervated multitude, dealers, pedlars, and retailers of all ſorts, follow the camp; to whom a ſeparate quarter is allotted, in which they daily exhibit their different commodities in greater quantities and with more regularity than in any fair in Europe; all of them ſitting on the ground in a line with their merchandiſes expoſed before them, and ſheltered from the ſun by a mat ſupported by ſticks.

The next morning, the 15th, at ſun-riſe, ſix pieces of cannon began to fire upon the camp from embraſures cut through the top of the mound which ſheltered them from the guns of Pitchandah. This unexpected annoyance ſoon created the greateſt confuſion: the enemy began immediately to ſtrike their tents, and every one to remove every thing that was either valuable or dear to him: elephants, camels, oxen and horſes, mingled with men, women and children affrighted and making lamentable outcries at the deſtruction which fell around them, preſſed to get out of the reach of it in ſuch a hurry as only ſerved to retard their flight: however, in two hours not a tent was ſtanding. The crowd firſt moved between the pagodas of Seringham and Jumbakiſtna, towards the bank of the Caveri, and from this ſide they were fired on by the guns of Tritchanopoly: they then hurried to the eaſtward of Jumbakiſtna, where finding themſelves out of the reach of danger, they began to ſet up their tents again. The garriſon of Pitchandah attempted to interrupt the cannonade; and finding that their artillery had no effect to diſmount the Engliſh guns covered by the mound, they made a ſally to ſeize them, but had not proceeded far before they received the fire of a detachment, which captain Clive had taken the precaution to poſt in the way they were coming; and this inſtantly drove them back again, not without ſome loſs.

During the reſt of the day, the Engliſh troops were employed in erecting the battery in a ruined village, about 200 yards to the north of Pitchandah. The pagoda, like moſt others on the coaſt of Coromandel, is a ſquare, of which the gateways projecting beyond the

1752. walls, flank the angles: the French had 70 Europeans, 200 Sepoys, and three pieces of cannon in the place. The attack began the next morning at day-break, from two pieces of battering cannon, which fired from embraſures cut through the wall of a brick houſe; the ſhock ſoon brought down the wall, and left the artillery-men for ſome time expoſed; but a large body of Sepoys being ordered to keep a conſtant fire on the parapet, the enemy were very cautious in making uſe either of their ſmall arms or cannon. Some time after one of the Engliſh guns burſt, and killed three Europeans, and wounded captain Dalton; but the breach was notwithſtanding practicable by four in the afternoon, when it was determined to ſtorm and eſcalade at the ſame time. The enemy ſeeing the preparations for the aſſault, were diſcouraged, and beat the chamade. The Sepoys miſtaking this ſignal of ſurrender for a defiance, fired a volley, which killed the drummer, and then giving a ſhout, ran to plant the colours on the breach. This motion was ſo rapid and unexpected, that they got to the top of it before any of the Engliſh officers were able to come up and inform them of their miſtake, which they were unluckily confirmed in by the behaviour of ſome of the garriſon, who drew up as faſt as they could to defend themſelves. A body of Europeans immediately marched after them, with orders to repreſs their violences, even by firing upon them, if neceſſary: but they did not arrive before the Sepoys had killed ſeveral of the garriſon, and ſtruck ſuch a terror, that 15 Frenchmen jumped over the walls into the Coleroon, where they were drowned. The reſt ſurrendered to the Europeans, whoſe preſence preſerved them from another riſque equal to that which they had juſt eſcaped: for the Morattoes, ſeeing the Sepoys in motion, imagined that they would carry off all the plunder of the place; and reſolving to have a ſhare of it themſelves, they mounted and galloped up ſword in hand to the breach: and ſeveral of them even rode up to the top of it. The enemy's army on the iſland were ſpectators of the whole attack, and fired, to very little purpoſe, a great number of random ſhot at the village in which the Engliſh were poſted.

By the reduction of Pitchandah, the enemy's communications with the country to the north of the Coleroon were entirely cut off, and their

Indian camp became again expoſed to a cannonade. The dread of this, and of the many other diſtreſſes which ſtraitened the army more cloſely every day, determined the greateſt part of Chunda-ſaheb's officers to quit his ſervice; and they went in a body and informed him of this reſolution. He heard it with great temper, and inſtead of reproaching them for deſerting him, ſaid, that if they had not prevented him, he ſhould of himſelf have propoſed what they deſired; that although he was not able to diſcharge the whole of their arrears, they might be aſſured he would punctually acquit himſelf of all his obligations whenever his better fortune ſhould return; and, as a proof of his ſincerity, he offered to deliver up to them the greateſt part of his elephants, camels, horſes, and other military effects, which they received at a valuation in part of what he was indebted to them. 1752.

The next day theſe officers ſent meſſengers to the confederates, ſome offering to take ſervice, others deſiring to paſs through their poſts: but the Indian allies, who had for ſome time regarded the whole of the enemy's baggage as a booty which could not eſcape them, heſitated to comply with their requeſt; and the Morattoes particularly, who do not rate the life of a man at the value of his turban, were averſe to the granting of any terms which might hinder them from exerting their ſabres to get the ſpoil, being perſuaded that, if hoſtilities were carried on to extremity, their activity would acquire much the largeſt ſhare of it. The Engliſh fruſtrated theſe cruel intentions, by determining to give their own paſſports, if the reſt of the allies perſiſted in refuſing, upon which they conſented to give theirs likewiſe.

Accordingly flags were planted on the banks of the Caveri and Coleroon, as a ſignal to the enemy's troops that they might paſs over in ſecurity. Two thouſand of Chunda-ſaheb's beſt horſe, and 1500 Sepoys, joined captain Clive at Samiavaram; others went to the Myſoreans; very few to the Nabob: the troops of Morawa and Madura, and other independent bodies, returned into their own countries. On the 4th day not a tent was ſtanding in the iſland; and there remained with Chunda-ſaheb no more than 2000 horſe and 3000 foot, who took ſhelter in the

1752. pagoda of Seringham: amongſt the foot were 1000 Rajpouts, who, from a motive of religion, undertook to defend the inward temples againſt all intruders. The French battalion, with 2000 Sepoys, ſhut themſelves up in Jumbakiſtna, giving out, as is the cuſtom of that nation, that they intended to defend themſelves to the laſt extremity. They preferred this to the other pagoda, becauſe its outward wall was in a better condition, and its ſmaller extent better proportioned to the number of their troops.

The artillery of Tritchanopoly and the allied army furniſhing no more than three pieces of battering cannon, a train was ordered from Devi Cotah; and to loſe no opportunity of increaſing the enemy's diſtreſſes before it arrived, major Lawrence on the 18th of May, the ſame day that the French withdrew into the pagoda, quitted his poſt at Chuckleya-pollam, and encamping oppoſite to it on the iſland, immediately threw up an entrenchment from one river to the other: at the ſame time Monack-jee with the Tanjorines moving from the eaſtward, took poſſeſſion of Chuckleya-pollam; and the army at Samiavaram quitting that poſt, encamped along the northern bank of the Coleroon. The Myſoreans remained, as before, to the weſt of the city.

But although the obſtacles which now ſurrounded the enemy were difficult to be overcome, they were not abſolutely inſurmountable. The troops in Jumbakiſtna outnumbered thoſe in the major's camp two to one, and both the rivers ſwelling often at this ſeaſon of the year, Mr. Law might force his way through it before any ſuccours could come from the main land: if ſucceſsful in this attempt, he might, as ſoon as the rivers began to fall, croſs the Caveri at ſome paſs farther to the eaſtward, before captain Clive's diviſion would be able to paſs the Coleroon, as this being the deeper channel, does not become fordable again ſo ſoon as the other: he might then by haſty marches make his way good to Karical, harraſſed indeed in his rout by Myſoreans and Morattoes, who, unſupported by the Engliſh troops, would probably make few vigorous efforts againſt a compact body of European infantry provided with a well-appointed train of artillery: but ſuch a plan implied an option of difficulties not to be expected from troops diſpirited by

by ill ſucceſs, and commanded by officers of no great talents; nor does it appear that the French ever entertained any thoughts of carrying it into execution. They flattered themſelves in their irreſolute councils, that Mr. D'Auteuil would make his way good into the iſland, notwithſtanding this attempt was now become more difficult than ever; and they hoped, with the ſupplies he was bringing, to protract the defence of the pagoda to the end of June, at which time ſhips were expected at Pondicherry with a conſiderable reinforcement of troops from France; however, for fear of the worſt, Mr. Law determined to take ſuch meaſures as he thought would place the perſon of Chunda-ſaheb out of danger. 1752.

Deſerters informing the Engliſh how much the enemy's future reſolutions depended on the arrival of Mr. D'Auteuil's convoy, it was determined to make another attempt againſt that reinforcement; but as it was reported that they were in poſſeſſion of all the fortifications at Vol-kondah, it was thought neceſſary, if poſſible, to bring the governor over to the Nabob's intereſt. A letter was wrote to him full of promiſes; the man changing ſides with fortune, anſwered, that although he had permitted Mr. D'Auteuil to take up his quarters in the pettah, he had not ſuffered him to take poſſeſſion either of the ſtone fort, or the fortifications of the rock; and that if any troops were ſent to attack the French, he would aſſiſt to deſtroy them. About the ſame time Mr. D'Auteuil, preſſed by the repeated ſollicitations of Mr. Law, quitted Vol-kondah, and to conceal ſome other plan gave out that he intended to retake the fort of Utatoor. Such an opportunity of attacking him was more to be relied on than the promiſes of the governor, and captain Clive marched againſt him without delay.

He left a ſtrong garriſon in Pitchandah, and in his camp a number of troops ſufficient, by well contrived diſpoſitions, to prevent Mr. Law from ſuſpecting the abſence of the force he took with him, which conſiſted of 100 Europeans, 1000 Sepoys, and 2000 Morattoe horſe, with ſix field pieces. They ſet out on the 27th of May in the evening, and arrived before morning at Utatoor, where they ſhut themſelves up in the fort all

that

1752. day and the enſuing night, in hopes that Mr. D'Auteuil would inadvertently come near enough to give them an opportunity of falling upon him on the plain before he could regain Vol-kondah. He did indeed advance within ſeven miles of Utatoor; but either from ſome rumour, or ſuſpicion, his heart failed him on a ſudden, and he took the reſolution of returning in great haſte to the place from whence he came. Captain Clive was no ſooner informed of his retreat than he ſet out in purſuit of him, and early in the morning ſent the Morattoes before, inſtructing them to keep their main body out of ſight, and to endeavour to harraſs and retard the enemy's march with ſmall parties, ſuch as might be miſtaken for detachments ſent only in queſt of plunder, and prevent them from ſuſpecting any thing more. Some of them came up with the enemy in the afternoon, within a league of Vol-kondah, and amuſed Mr. D'Auteuil ſo well, that he, hoping to intice them within reach of his fire, waſted ſome time in making evolutions; but greater numbers coming in ſight, he began to ſuſpect the ſtratagem, and forming his men in a column with two field pieces in front, retreated. By this time the whole body of Morattoes came up and hovered round him until he reached Vol-kondah, where he drew up between the mud wall of the pettah and the river Valarru, which was almoſt dry. Soon after the Sepoys, who formed the van of the Engliſh column, appeared outmarching the Europeans at a great rate; 600 of them had, in the enemy's ſervice, ſtormed the breaches at the aſſault of Arcot, and having ſince that time been employed in the Engliſh ſervice in ſeveral actions under the command of captain Clive, entertained no ſmall opinion of their own proweſs when ſupported by a body of Europeans. Theſe men no ſooner came within cannon-ſhot of the enemy, than they ran precipitately to attack them, without regarding any order. They received the fire of the enemy's cannon, and muſketry, which killed many of them, but did not check the reſt from ruſhing on to the puſh of bayonet. The Morattoes, animated by ſuch an example, galloped acroſs the river, and charging the flanks, increaſed the confuſion, which the Sepoys had made in the center. The attack was too general and impetuous to be long reſiſted, and the enemy retired haſtily through the barrier into the pettah, where

where they began to make reſiſtance again by firing over the mud wall. 1752.
By this time the Europeans came up, and aſſaulting the barrier, ſoon forced their way and put the enemy to flight a ſecond time, who now ran to take ſhelter in the ſtone fort, where the governor, according to his promiſe, ſhut the gate; but ſome of them getting over the walls with ſcaling ladders, in an unguarded part, opened the gate, in ſpite of the garriſon, and let in their fellow fugitives. This paſſed whilſt the Engliſh troops, cautious of diſperſing in a place they were not acquainted with, were forming to follow them in order, and ſoon after the field pieces began to fire upon the gate, whilſt the muſketry under ſhelter of the houſes deterred the enemy from appearing on the ramparts. Mr. D'Auteuil therefore, as the laſt reſource, attempted to get into the fortifications of the adjacent rock; but the governor, who was there in perſon, ſent him word, that if he perſiſted in uſing any violence he would fire into the fort. In this perplexity, which the night increaſed, he conſulted his officers, who unanimouſly agreed to ſurrender. The white flag was hung out, and the terms were ſoon ſettled. It was agreed, that the deſerters ſhould be pardoned, that the French commiſſioned officers ſhould not ſerve againſt the Nabob for 12 months, and the private men remain priſoners of war at his diſcretion. The whole party conſiſted of 100 Europeans, of which 35 were Engliſh deſerters, 400 Sepoys, and 340 horſe. Their artillery was only 3 pieces of cannon, but there was found in the pettah three large magazines, which, beſides a variety of other military ſtores, contained 800 barrels of gun powder and 3000 muſkets It was known that Mr. D'Auteuil had with him a large ſum of money, but he ſecreted great part of it amongſt his own baggage, which he was permitted to carry away without examination; the troops on both ſides embezzled part of the remainder: ſo that only 50,000 rupees were regularly taken poſſeſſion of for the uſe of the captors; whoſe booty, excluſive of the military ſtores, which were reſerved for the Company, amounted to 10,000 pounds ſterling: the horſemen and Sepoys were, as uſual, diſarmed and ſet at liberty, and captain Clive returned to his camp with the reſt of the priſoners.

The

1752. The French at Jumbakiſtna were apprized of the march of the troops to intercept Mr. D'Auteuil, and had before received from him ſuch a deſcription of the difficulties which obſtructed his paſſage as deſtroyed the hopes they had too fondly entertained of this reſource; their proviſions likewiſe began to fail. The ſtraits to which they were reduced had for ſome time been foreſeen by Chunda-ſaheb, and he had often repreſented to Mr. Law the neceſſity of making a vigorous effort to extricate themſelves; but finding that his remonſtrances were not heeded, the uſual ſteadineſs of his mind began to fail him, and he gave way to an anxiety, which increaſing with the proſpect of his diſtreſſes, greatly impaired his health. At the ſame time Mr. Law was not a little ſollicitous about the ſafety of a perſon of ſuch great importance, whom his own irreſolute conduct had brought into the dangers which now ſurrounded him. He thought, and perhaps juſtly, that if Chunda-ſaheb ſhould be obliged to ſurrender, the Nabob would never agree to ſpare the life of his rival; and from the prejudices of national animoſity, he concluded that if the Engliſh got him into their power, they would not with-hold him from the Nabob's reſentment: he therefore ſuggeſted to his ally the neceſſity of attempting to make his eſcape, by bribing ſome chief of the confederate army to permit him to paſs thro' his quarters. Chunda-ſaheb, ſenſible of his deſperate ſituation, conſented to try this deſperate remedy, forced by the ſeverity of his fate to make an option on which his life depended, when every choice preſented almoſt equal danger. The Nabob was out of the queſtion; the Myſoreans he knew would make uſe of him as a means to oblige the Nabob to fulfil the agreements he had made with them, and the Morattoes would ſell him to the higheſt bidder of the two: the Polygars were not ſtrong enough, nor were their troops ſituated conveniently to favour his eſcape. There remained the Tanjorines; theſe had formerly received injuries from Chunda-ſaheb, and more lately had ſeen their capital beſieged by him; ſo that had their troops been commanded by the king in perſon, it would have been as abſurd to repoſe a confidence in them as in any other of the allies: but it was known that their general Monack-jee was at open variance with the prime miniſter, who had on all occaſions pre-

vented

vented the king from diſtinguiſhing him with thoſe marks of gratitude his military ſervices deſerved. It was therefore thought not impracticable to ſeparate the intereſts of the general from thoſe of his ſovereign; and this feeble glimmering ray of hope was followed, only becauſe no other preſented itſelf. 1752.

Monack-jee received the overture, and carried on the correſpondence with ſo much addreſs and ſeeming complacence, as induced Mr. Law and Chunda-ſaheb to think they had gained him over to their intereſt: a large ſum of money was paid, and much more, with every other advantage he thought proper to ſtipulate, promiſed: but the hour Chunda-ſaheb was to deliver himſelf into his hands was not fixed, when on the 31ſt of May the battering cannon arrived from Devi Cotah, and Mr. Law received a ſummons to ſurrender at diſcretion. Monack-jee now acting as a friend, ſent at the ſame time a meſſage adviſing Chunda-ſaheb to come over to him that very night, ſince, if he delayed to make his eſcape before the Engliſh advanced nearer the pagodas, which they were preparing to batter, his paſſage to Chuckley-apollam, would afterwards be ſubject to infinite riſques.

In order therefore to prevent the Engliſh from taking any ſuſpicions of this important reſolution before it was carried into effect, Mr. Law, not unſagaciouſly, made uſe of the higheſt ſpirit of rodomontade in his anſwer to major Lawrence. He talked of defending the pagoda until the laſt extremity, unleſs he was permitted to march away with all the troops under his command wherever he pleaſed; inſiſting likewiſe, that no ſearch ſhould be made after any perſon under his colours. On theſe conditions he was willing to deliver up one half of his artillery.

As ſoon as it was night one of Chunda-ſaheb's officers repaired privately to Monack-jee's quarters, where, amongſt other precautions, he demanded, that a conſiderable hoſtage ſhould be delivered before his maſter put himſelf into Monack-jee's power. To this the Tanjorine anſwered with great calmneſs, that if any intentions of treachery were entertained, no hoſtage would be a check to them; and that by giving one, the ſecret would be divulged, and the eſcape rendered impracticable. He, however, took an oath, the moſt ſacred of all to an Indian ſoldier, on his ſabre and poniard, wiſhing they might be turned to his

1752. own deſtruction if he failed in his engagements, which were to ſend away Chunda-ſaheb as ſoon as he came into his quarters, with an eſcort of horſe, to the French ſettlement of Karical. At the ſame time a Tanjorine officer aſſured Chunda-ſaheb's that he was appointed to command the eſcort, and ſhewed the pallankin and other preparations which were intended for the journey. The two officers then repaired to a choultry, where Chunda-ſaheb himſelf, with a few attendants, waited the reſult of the conference. As ſoon as he had heard it related, he proceeded with the Tanjorine to Monack-jee's quarters, where, inſtead of the eſcort he expected, he was met by a guard patroling for him, who carried him with violence into a tent, where they immediately put him into irons.

The news was inſtantly communicated to the Nabob, the Myſorean and Morattoe, and kept them up all night debating on the fate of the priſoner. The next morning they repaired together with Monack-jee to major Lawrence's tent, in whoſe preſence they held a council. Each of them inſiſted that Chunda-ſaheb ought to be delivered to himſelf, ſupporting the demand with the ſuperior importance each thought he bore in the general cauſe; but Monack-jee firmly refuſed to give his prize out of his own hands. The major had hitherto remained ſilent, but finding that the diſſention was irreconcileable, propoſed that the Engliſh ſhould have the care of him, and keep him in one of their ſettlements. They were all of them averſe to this ſcheme, and broke up the conference without coming to any reſolution: the three competitors in high indignation againſt one another, and againſt Monack-jee, who had moreover the mortification of ſeeing that the treachery he had committed was ſo far from being acknowledged as a ſervice rendered to the general cauſe, that the Myſorean, the Morattoe, and perhaps the Nabob, wiſhed in the bottom of their hearts that Chunda-ſaheb had not been taken, ſince they had not the diſpoſal of him in their own power.

Immediately after the conference, major Lawrence ſent another ſummons to Mr. Law, more peremptory than the former: for a deciſive anſwer was demanded before noon the next day; after which his flags of truce would be fired upon; and if the batteries once began to play, it

was declared that every man in the pagoda ſhould be put to the ſword. 1752.

He had already been informed of the fate of his ally, and had heard a rumour of the defeat at Vol-kondah, but this he did not intirely give credit to; when convinced of it by the report of one of his own officers who had ſeen Mr. D'Auteuil in the Engliſh camp, he defired a perſonal conference with major Lawrence, which, after ſeveral meſſages, was agreed to be held the next day.

He began, by aſſerting that the peace which exiſted between the two crowns, entitled him to expect from the Engliſh every mark of conſideration for the French troops, ſince they were now left unconnected with any powers contending in the Carnatic, by the diſperſion of Chundaſaheb's army, and the impriſonment of its leader; he therefore expected that the Engliſh would, inſtead of acting as enemies, contribute as allies to facilitate the retreat of his army into the French ſettlements. Major Lawrence replied, that he acted in the conference only as the interpreter of the Nabob's intentions, with whom the Engliſh were in cloſe alliance; and as a juſtification of the Nabob's conduct, produced a letter in which Mr. Dupleix had declared that he would never ceaſe to purſue him whilſt a ſingle Frenchman remained in India.

After ſeveral other altercations, which produced little change in the terms firſt propoſed, the capitulation was ſigned. It was agreed that the pagoda of Jumbakiſtna ſhould be delivered up, with all the guns, ſtores, and ammunition: that the officers ſhould give their parole not to ſerve againſt the Nabob or his allies: that the private men of the battalion, Europeans, Coffrees and Topaſſes, ſhould remain priſoners, and that the deſerters ſhould be pardoned.

The troops with captain Clive were then ordered to rejoin the major's diviſion, and the next morning, before break of day, captain Dalton marched with 250 choſen men, who halted, beating their drums at an abandoned out-poſt within piſtol-ſhot of the walls of Jumbakiſtna, whilſt the major remained not far off with the reſt of the troops, drawn up ready to prevent the effect of any treachery; but none

1752. was intended: for Mr. Law ſoon came out with ſome of his officers, and conducted the detachment into the pagoda, where they formed with their backs to the gate, oppoſite to the French troops, who immediately flung down their arms in a heap, and ſurrendered priſoners. The whole conſiſted of 35 commiſſion officers, 725 battalion men bearing arms, beſides 60 ſick and wounded in the hoſpital, and 2000 Sepoys: their artillery were four 13 inch mortars, 8 cohorns, 2 petards, 31 pieces of cannon, of which 11 were for battering, moſtly 18 pounders, and the reſt field pieces: they had likewiſe a great quantity of ammunition, ſtores and carriages of all ſorts in very good condition. The pagoda of Seringham was ſoon after delivered up, and the horſe and foot who had taken refuge in it ſuffered to paſs away without moleſtation; but the 1000 Rajpouts refuſed to quit the temple, and threatened their victors to cut them to pieces if they offered to enter within the third wall: the Engliſh, in admiration of their enthuſiaſm, promiſed to give them no occaſion of offence.

Thus was this formidable army, whoſe numbers two months before were nearly equal to the confederates, reduced, without a battle, more effectually than it probably could have been by what is generally eſteemed a total defeat in the field. The ſoldier who regards his profeſſion as a ſcience, will diſcover examples worthy of his meditation, both in the abſurdity of the enemy's choice of their ſituation, and in the advantages which were taken of it. It is indeed difficult to determine whether the Engliſh conducted themſelves with more ability and ſpirit, or the French with more irreſolution and ignorance after major Lawrence and captain Clive arrived at Tritchanopoly.

Still the fate of Chunda-ſaheb remained to be decided before the ſucceſs of this day could be deemed complete. The anxiety which Monackjee carried away from the conference in major Lawrence's tent was encreaſed every hour by the meſſages and propoſals he received. The Myſorean promiſed money, the Nabob threatened reſentment, and Morari-row, more plainly, that he would pay him a viſit at the head of 6000 horſe. Terrified at the commotions which would inevitably follow, if he gave the preference to any one of the competitors, he ſaw no method of finiſhing the conteſt but by putting an end to the life of his priſoner;

ſoner; however, as the major had expreſſed a deſire that the Engliſh might have him in their poſſeſſion, he thought it neceſſary to know whether they ſeriouſly expected this deference, and accordingly, on the ſame morning that the pagoda ſurrendered, went to the major, with whom he had a conference, which convinced him that the Engliſh were his friends, and that they were reſolved not to interfere any farther in the diſpute. He therefore immediately on his return to Chuckley-apollam put his deſign into execution, by ordering the head of Chunda-ſaheb to be ſtruck off. 1752.

The executioner of this deed was a Pitan, one of Monack-jee's retinue, reſerved for ſuch purpoſes. He found the unfortunate victim an aged man, ſtretched on the ground, from whence the infirmities of ſickneſs rendered him unable to rear himſelf. The aſpect and abrupt intruſion of the aſſaſſin inſtantly ſuggeſted to Chunda-ſaheb the errand on which he was ſent. He waved his hand, and deſired to ſpeak to Monack-jee before he died, ſaying, that he had ſomething of great importance to communicate to him: but the man of blood giving no heed to his words, proceeded to his work, and after ſtabbing him to the heart, ſevered his head from his body.

The head was immediately ſent into Tritchanopoly to the Nabob, who now for the firſt time ſaw the face of his rival. After he had gratified his courtiers with a ſight of it, they tied it to the neck of a camel, and in this manner it was carried five times round the walls of the city, attended by a hundred thouſand ſpectators, inſulting it with all the obſcene and indecent invectives peculiar to the manners of Indoſtan. It was afterwards carefully packed up in a box, and delivered to an eſcort, who gave out that they were to carry it to be viewed by the Great Mogul at Delhi; a practice generally obſerved to heighten the reputation of the ſucceſsful cauſe: but there is no reaſon to believe that it was ever carried out of the Carnatic.

Such was the unfortunate and ignominious end of this man. The many examples of a ſimilar fate, which are perpetually produced by the conteſts of ambition in this unſettled empire, have eſtabliſhed a proverb, that fortune is a throne; and therefore he who falls in ſuch conteſts is only reckoned unfortunate, without having the odium of rebellion or treachery

1752. treachery charged on his memory, unleſs he oppoſes the ſovereign of ſovereigns the Great Mogul; all the reſt is reckoned the common courſe of politics: for there is ſcarcely throughout the empire a Nabob who has not an open or latent competitor. It therefore only remains to ſpeak of the private character of Chunda-ſaheb, in which he is generally acknowledged to have been a brave, benevolent, humane and generous man, as princes go in Indoſtan. His military abilities were much greater than are commonly found in the generals of India, inſomuch that if he had had an abſolute command over the French troops, it is believed he would not have committed the miſtakes which brought on his cataſtrophe, and the total reduction of his army.

But ſignal as theſe ſucceſſes were, they were ſo far from being the means of reſtoring tranquillity to the Carnatic, that in the very principles which produced them were intermixed the ſeeds of another more dangerous and obſtinate war; and this the Nabob had the anguiſh to know, whilſt he was giving the demonſtrations of joy expected from him on ſucceſſes which appeared ſo deciſive.

The END *of the* THIRD BOOK.

BOOK

A PLAN of the COUNTRY near TRITCHINAPOLY

for the Explanation of the principal Operations
DURING THE WAR

Scale of 2 Miles.

¼ ½ ¾ 1 2

Pitchandah

Lalguddy

C O L E R O O N

R I V E R

Mysore Camp Decr 1752.

SERINGHAM PAGODA

JUMBAKISTNA PAGODA

Village

I S L A N D O F S E R I N G H A M

Choultries

Attack the Mysore Camp at Srirangam December 1752

Trichinapoly

Mootachellinoor

The great Choultrey where the English party was cut off in Decr 1752.

French post of 2 Guns 1751. 1752.

Choultrey

R I V E R

C A V E R Y

Dalawars Choultrey

The French and Chundasahebs Camp from August 1751 to April 1752

French post of 2 Guns to enfilade the English post at the River side 1751. 1752.

Chukley pollam

Troops from

Covering Party to support that in the Choultrey December 1752

English post of Two Guns 1751. 1752.

March of the English

Covered Way thrown up against the French grand battery 1751. 1752.

French grand battery 1751. 1752.

TRITCHI NAPOLY

Covered Way thrown up against the French grand battery 1751. 1752.

French grand battery 1751. 1752.

English post opposite the French Rock 1751. 1752

Weycondah

Water Course called the Colloway

French Rock

English Camp in September 1753 whilst waiting for the reinforcement.

A small Intrenchment for the security of the left flank of the Camp Sept.r 1753.

English advanced Guard Sept.r 1753.

Elimiserum

Facquires Tope

French advanced Guard Sep.r 1753

Golden Rock

Sugarloaf Rock

Camp of the French, Mysoreans and Morattoes, in September 1753.

Water Course

Part of the Five Rocks

BOOK IV.

FOUR hundred of the French priſoners were ſent under an eſcort to Fort St. David; and the reſt, together with the artillery and ſtores taken at Jumbakiſtna, were carried into Tritchanopoly: after theſe and ſome other neceſſary diſpoſitions were made, major Lawrence repreſented to the Nabob the neceſſity of his marching without delay at the head of the confederate army into the Carnatic, where it was not to be doubted that the reputation of their late ſucceſſes would contribute greatly to reduce ſuch fortreſſes as were in the intereſt of Chunda-ſaheb, and facilitate the eſtabliſhment of his government over the province, from which he had hitherto received neither revenues nor aſſiſtance. The Nabob acquieſced in this advice, but continued for ſeveral days to ſhew an unaccountable backwardneſs, as often as he was preſſed to put it into execution. The inconſiſtency of this conduct perplexed all but the very few who were acquainted with the cauſe; and the Engliſh had no conception of the difficulties which with-held him, when, to their very great aſtoniſhment, the Myſorean explained the myſtery, by refuſing to march until the city of Tritchanopoly with all its dependencies was delivered up to him; for ſuch was the price he had ſtipulated with the Nabob for his aſſiſtance. 1752.

They had both, for every reaſon, agreed to keep this important article a profound ſecret; but the Myſorean had either not been able to conceal it from the ſagacity of his ſubſidiary the Morattoe, or perhaps had made the agreement by his advice. It is certain that the Morattoe had all along projected to turn it to his own advantage at a proper occaſion: excepting theſe principals, and their immediate ſecretaries, not a man in the province had any idea of it. Great therefore was the general ſurprize and anxiety when it was made public.

The

1752. The Nabob finding diſſimulation no longer of any ſervice, confeſſed the truth when major Lawrence demanded an explanation of it; proteſting that his extreme diſtreſs alone had extorted a promiſe from him which the Myſorean himſelf might very well know was totally out of his power to perform. Tritchanopoly, he ſaid, was the Great Mogul's, and himſelf only a viceroy, appointed to govern it during the pleaſure of that great prince: that the reſigning of this important place to the government of an Indian king, would involve both himſelf and the Engliſh in continual wars with the whole Mogul empire. In ſhort, firmly reſolved at all events not to part with the place, he propoſed to amuſe the regent with a further promiſe of delivering it up within two months; in which time he hoped, by collecting the large arrears due from the Arcot province, to repay the expences which the Myſoreans had incurred by aſſiſting him. As a palliative for the preſent, he meant to give up the fort of Madura with its dependencies, which include a very large diſtrict. Theſe terms he thought a full and ample recompence for all that the regent had done for him, more eſpecially as the reduction of Chunda-ſaheb's power had been an eſſential advantage to the intereſts of the Myſoreans as well as to his own. Major Lawrence, whoſe power was confined to the operations of the field, waited for inſtructions from the preſidency, who received at the ſame time applications from both parties, ſetting forth, as uſual, the ſubject in a very different manner. They prudently determined not to interfere in the diſpute, unleſs violence ſhould be uſed againſt the Nabob; and profeſſing great friendſhip to the Myſorean, they ſtrenuouſly recommended to both parties an amicable adjuſtment of their differences.

But theſe differences continued with great warmth; and in the long debates on this ſubject, Morari-row conducted himſelf with ſo much ſeeming impartiality, that he was choſen, with equal confidence on both ſides, to be the mediator between them; and the time being fixed for the conference, he came one evening into the city in great ſtate, accompanied by two commiſſaries deputed by the regent: they proceeded to the Nabob's palace, where captain Dalton, as commander of the Engliſh garriſon, was preſent.

The uſual ceremonies being over, the Morattoe with great deliberation and propriety enumerated the many obligations which the Nabob owed to the regent. He painted in lively colours the diſtreſsful ſtate of his affairs, when the regent generouſly undertook his cauſe; at which time, although nominal lord of a country extending from the river Pennar to Cape Comorin, he really poſſeſſed no more of this great dominion than the ground incloſed by the walls of Tritchanopoly, where he was cloſely beſieged by a much ſuperior and implacable enemy. He appealed to the Nabob for the truth of what he aſſerted, and then demanded in form the delivery of the city and territory of Tritchanopoly, in conſequence of the ſolemn agreement he had made with the Myſorean, which he produced ſigned and ſealed. 1752.

The Nabob, who expected this harangue, acknowledged the favours he had received, and ſaid, that he was reſolved to fulfil his engagements: but that being at this time in poſſeſſion of no other conſiderable fortified town, it was impoſſible to remove his family, which was very large, until he had, by reducing the Arcot province, got a place proper for their reception: he therefore demanded a reſpite of two months, at the expiration of which he promiſed to ſend orders to his brother-in-law to deliver up the city. The Morattoe highly commended this reſolution, and after ſome other vague diſcourſe, he ſignified an inclination to ſpeak to him in private, and deſired the commiſſaries to withdraw. As ſoon as they and the reſt of the audience, excepting captain Dalton, were retired, changing his countenance from the ſolemnity of a negociator to the ſmile of a courtier, he told the Nabob, that he believed him endowed with too much ſenſe to mind what he had ſaid before thoſe two ſtupid fellows, meaning the commiſſaries: you muſt likewiſe, ſaid he, think that I have too much diſcernment to believe you have any intention of fulfilling the promiſe you have now made. How could you anſwer to the Great Mogul the giving up ſo conſiderable a part of his dominion to ſuch inſignificant people: it would be the higheſt abſurdity to think of it. Theſe you may be aſſured are my real ſentiments, whatever my private intereſt may induce me to ſay to the contrary in public. The Nabob was not a little delighted to find

1752. him in this diſpoſition; for it was his reſentment more than the regents that he dreaded; and immediately made him a preſent of a draught on his treaſury for 50,000 rupees promiſing much more if he would reconcile matters, and divert the regent from inſiſting on the letter of the treaty. This the other aſſured him he would do though nothing was farther from his intentions. He was in reality the moſt improper perſon that could have been choſen to adjuſt the difference. His views were, firſt by ingratiating himſelf with the Nabob, to perſuade him to admit a large body of Morattoes into the city as the beſt means of deceiving the regent into a belief that he really intended to give it up according to his promiſe; and theſe military umpires would have been inſtructed to ſeize on any opportunity that might offer of ſeducing or overpowering the reſt of the garriſon; and if this iniquitous ſcheme ſucceeded, he intended to keep poſſeſſion of the city, which he had formerly governed, for himſelf. If there ſhould be no opening for this plan, he determined to protract the diſpute as long as poſſible by negociations, during which he was ſure of being kept in pay by the Myſorean, and did not doubt of having the addreſs to get conſiderable preſents from the Nabob. When this double dealing ſhould be exhauſted, he purpoſed to make the Myſorean declare war, knowing that he had too great an opinion of the Morattoes to carry it on without continuing them in his ſervice.

The apprehenſions of an immediate rupture obliged the Engliſh troops, who had proceeded on the 16th of June as far as Utatoor, to return on the 18th to Tritchanopoly, for the Myſorean had even threatened to attack the Nabob if he offered to march out of the city in order to join his European allies, as he had promiſed. Their appearance, more than their remonſtrances, produced an accommodation for the preſent. The Nabob made over to the regent the revenues of the iſland of Seringham, and of ſeveral other diſtricts, impowering him to collect them himſelf; promiſed again to deliver up Tritchanopoly at the end of two months; and in the mean time agreed to receive 700 men, provided they were not Morattoes, into the city. On theſe conditions the Myſorean agreed to aſſiſt him with all his force to reduce the Arcot province. Neither ſide gave any credit to the other, but both expected advantages by gaining time. The Nabob knew that an imme-

immediate declaration of war, would effectually ſtop the progreſs of his arms in the Carnatic, where he hoped to gain ſome ſignal advantage, whilſt the regent delayed to commence hoſtilities againſt him; and the regent wiſhed for nothing ſo much as the departure of the Nabob and the Engliſh battalion, that he might carry on his ſchemes to ſurprize Tritchanopoly, which he knew their preſence would render ineffectual. The excuſes he made when preſſed to march ſufficiently explained his intentions; and to fruſtrate them, 200 Europeans with 1500 Sepoys were placed in garriſon in the city, under the command of captain Dalton, who was inſtructed to take every precaution that might prevent a ſurprize. 1752.

The battalion, now reduced to 500 men, together with 2500 Sepoys, began their march on the 28th of June, accompanied by the Nabob at the head of 2000 horſe: theſe, with about the ſame number of Peons left in Tritchanopoly, were all the force he commanded, for none of the numerous allies, which he ſaw himſelf at the head of a few days before, remained with him. The Tanjorines had rendered too great ſervices to be refuſed the permiſſion of returning home; and the troops of the Polygars were not obliged to ſerve out of the diſtricts of Tritchanopoly. The Myſoreans and Morattoes remained in their encampment to the weſt of the city, placing a detachment in Seringham Pagoda, which the Nabob had permitted them to take poſſeſſion of.

The weakneſs to which the Nabob's force was reduced by this fatal conteſt, and the apprehenſion of ſtill worſe conſequences from it, deſtroyed the hopes which the Engliſh had entertained a few days before, of carrying his arms in triumph againſt Velore or Gingee. Their late ſucceſs, inſtead of inſpiring exultation, ſerved only to imbitter the ſenſe of their incapacity to reap any advantages from it. They marched away more with the ſullenneſs of men defeated, than with the alacrity of troops fluſhed with victory; and proceeding without any regular plan for their future operations, they followed the high road until they came to Vol-kondah.

Here they halted for ſome days, whilſt the Nabob negociated with the governor, who refuſed to deliver up his fort, but took the oath of allegiance, and paying 80,000 rupees as a conſideration for the arrears that

1752. were due from him, gave ſecurity for the punctual diſcharge of the revenues of his diſtrict in future.

From hence the Nabob detached his brother Abdullwahab Khan with 1000 horſe to Arcot, appointing him his lieutenant of the countries to the north of the river Paliar; and the reſt of the army marching by Verdachillum, proceeded to Trivadi, where they arrived on the 6th of July, and found a garriſon of French Sepoys in the pagoda, who ſurrendered on the firſt ſummons. The troops then encamped in the neighbourhood, and major Lawrence leaving the command to captain Gingen, went for the recovery of his health into Fort St. David. This place was no longer the ſeat of the preſidency, which, by orders from England, had been removed, two months before, to its ancient reſidence at Madraſs.

The death of Chunda-ſaheb, and the capture of Seringham, ſtruck the inhabitants of Pondicherry with the deepeſt conſternation; for excepting thoſe who received advantages from their employments in the war, few had ever approved of the ambitious views of their governor, and fewer were perſonally attached to him. The haughtineſs and arrogance of his ſpirit diſguſted all who approached him: he exhibited on all occaſions the oriental pomp, and marks of diſtinction, which he aſſumed as the Great Mogul's viceroy in the countries ſouth of the Kriſtna; inſomuch that he had more than once obliged his own countrymen to ſubmit to the humiliation of paying him homage on their knees. This domineering inſolence had created him many enemies, who, with a ſpirit of malice common to violent prejudices, were not ſorry to find their own ſenſe of his romantic ſchemes juſtified by the late ſignal diſaſters, which they hoped would deter him from proſecuting them any farther. But they did not know the man: difficulties and diſappointments, inſtead of depreſſing him, only ſuggeſted the neceſſity of exerting himſelf with more vigour. And indeed his plan of gaining immenſe acquiſitions in the Decan had been laid with ſo much ſagacity, that the ſucceſſes of his arms to the northward already ballanced the diſgrace they had ſuffered at Seringham.

In the month of February of the preceeding year, Salabat-jing the new Soubah with the French troops under the command of Buſſey quitted

quitted the country of Cudapah where the unfortunate Murzafa-jing had been killed. On the 15th of March they came to Kanoul the capital of the Pitan Nabob by whoſe hand that prince was ſlain, and it was determined that the city ſhould atone for the treachery and rebellion of its Lord. The place was originally well fortified; but ſince it had been in the poſſeſſion of Pitans, theſe people, as avaricious as they are brave, had ſuffered the defences both of the town and its citadel to fall to decay; and the river which runs cloſe to the city, had lately carried away 200 yards of the wall; there were 4000 Pitans in the place, who attempted to defend this entrance; but not accuſtomed to the fire of field pieces, were eaſily put to flight: they retired into the caſtle, ſeveral parts of which were likewiſe in ruins; and the French troops animated by their ſucceſs, and led by Mr. Kerjean, a nephew of Mr. Dupleix, ſtormed it, with great vivacity, where the breaches were moſt practicable; by which time the army of Sallabat-jing came up, and aſſiſted with good will in putting all the garriſon to the ſword; many of the inhabitants were likewiſe maſſacred. The wife of the late Nabob and her two ſons were made priſoners. 1752.

The French doubtleſs intended, by the unmerciful ſlaughter exerciſed at the taking of this city, to ſpread early the terror of their arms, through the countries in which they were going to eſtabliſh themſelves, where no European force had ever before appeared: and in order to raiſe an opinion of their good faith and juſtice, equal to the reputation of their proweſs, Mr. Buſſey immediately after Kanoul was taken, obliged Salabat-jing to ſettle the fortune of Sadoudin Khan, the infant ſon of Murzafa-jing, their late ally and Soubah. He received the inveſtiture of the government of Adoni, which had been the patrimony of his father, and as a juſt reparation for the treachery that cauſed his death, the territory of the Nabob of Cudapah who planned the conſpiracy, and of Kanoul, by whoſe arm he fell, were added to the ſovereignty of the young prince, which by the French accounts produced all together an annual revenue of near a million of pounds ſterling. An example of generoſity, which, if true, could not fail to raiſe admiration in a country, where the merits of the father are ſo ſeldom of advantage to the diſtreſſes of the ſon.

1752. The army then croſſed the Kriſtna, between which and Gol-Kondah were poſted 25000 Morattoes, employed by Gazy-o-din Khan, the eldeſt brother of Salabat-jing, and generaliſſimo of the empire, to oppoſe their paſſage towards the city. They were commanded by Balazarow, the principal general of the Nanah, or king of all the Morratoe nations. A negotiation enſued, and the Morattoes, having hitherto received nothing from Gazy-o-din Khan, who was at Delhi, were eaſily perſuaded, with ſome ready money, not only to retire, but alſo to make an alliance with the prince they were ſent to oppoſe.

Nothing more remained to obſtruct the paſſage of the army, which entered Gol-Kondah in the proceſſion of an eaſtern triumph on the 2d of April. Salabat-jing was acknowledged Soubah without oppoſition, and went through the ceremony of ſitting on the Muſnud or throne in public, and of receiving homage not only from his own immediate officers, but alſo from moſt of the governours of the neighbouring countries.

The ſervices which the French battalion had rendered were now amply rewarded. A preſent ſuppoſed to be 100,000 pounds ſterling, was given to the commander in chief, the other officers likewiſe received gratuities, and that of an enſign, amounted to 50,000 rupees. The monthly pay of a captain, beſides the carriage of his baggage furniſhed at Salabat-jing's expence, was ſettled at 1000 rupees, of a lieutenant at 500, of an enſign at 300, of a ſerjeant at 90, and of a common ſoldier at 60 rupees. The policy of Mr. Dupleix, in taking poſſeſſion of Maſulipatnam, was now manifeſted by the facility with which the army at Gol-Kondah was ſupplied with recruits of men, ſtores and ammunition from that port.

In the mean time, Gazy-o-din Khan had obtained from the miniſtry at Delhi a commiſſion for the Soubahſhip of the Decan, and the rumour of an army marching by his orders towards Brampour, determined Salabat-jing to proceed immediately to Aurengabad. He left Gol-Kondah in the beginning of May, and during the rout, intelligence was received that ſeveral principal men in the city had declared againſt him, and Shanavaz-Khan, who had been the prime miniſter of Nazir-jing, and had ever ſince his reconciliation with the French after the death

of that prince, accompanied the camp, now found means to eſcape out of it, and went directly to Aurengabad, where he contributed not a little to inflame the minds of the people againſt Salabat-jing, deſcribing him as a weak and infatuated prince, who had diſhonoured the Mogul government, by ſubjecting himſelf, and his authority, to the arbitrary will of a handful of infidels, who graſped at nothing leſs than the ſovereignty of half the Mogul empire, under pretence of giving aſſiſtance to the rightful lords. 1752.

Theſe reports were too well founded not to make an impreſſion, and the conſequences of them were ſo much apprehended, that Salabat-jing did not think it ſafe to appear in ſight of the capital, before he had acted the ſtale but pompous ceremony of receiving from the hands of an embaſſador, ſaid to be ſent by the great Mogul, letters patent, appointing him viceroy of all the countries which had been under the juriſdiction of his father Nizam-al-muluck. The man, no doubt as fictitious as the writings with which he was charged, was treated almoſt with as much reverence as would have been paid to the emperor, whom he pretended to repreſent. The prince himſelf, accompanied by the French troops, advanced a mile beyond the camp to meet him; and the delivery of the letters was ſignified by a general diſcharge of all the cannon and muſketry in the army, after which he ſat in ſtate to receive homage from his officers; Mr. Buſſy, as the firſt in rank, ſetting the example. The army then continued their march to the city, where they arrived on the 18th of June, and found that their appearance, and the reputation of the Mogul's favours, had ſuppreſſed whatever commotions might have been intended. A few indeed knew for certain that Gazy-o-din Khan had received the commiſſion aſſumed by his brother, and was preparing to aſſert it at the head of an army; but the voices of theſe were loſt amidſt the clamours of a populace, impatient to ſee a Soubah of the Decan, once more making his reſidence in their city, which had been deprived of this advantage ever ſince the death of Nizam-al-muluck.

The entry into Aurengabad was more ſplendid and magnificent, than that which had been made at Gol-Kondah: and the city merited this preference, being next to Delhi, the moſt populous and wealthy in the

1752. the Mogul's dominions: its inhabitants, when the Soubah is there, are computed at a million and a half of ſouls. The French had a convenient quarter aſſigned them, to which Mr. Buſſy ſtrictly obliged the troops to confine themſelves, leſt the diſparity of manners ſhould create broils and tumults which might end fatally.

In the month of Auguſt, Salabat-jing exhibited another ceremony to amuſe the people, receiving a delegate from Delhi, who brought, as was pretended, the Serpaw or veſt, with the ſword, and other ſymbols of ſovereignty, which the Great Mogul ſends to his viceroys on appointment. But by this time, Balazarow appeared again at the head of 40,000 men, ravaging the neighbouring countries. Battles and negotiations ſucceeded one another alternately during the reſt of the year, and until the end of May in the next, without producing either a deciſive victory, or a definitive treaty. The Morratoes would in more than one action have been ſucceſsful had not the French battalion, and their field pieces, repulſed their onſets. Theſe ſervices gave Mr. Buſſy ſupreme influence in the councils of his ally, which, on hearing of the decline of Chunda-ſaheb's affairs at Tritchanopoly, he employed to obtain a commiſſion, appointing Mr. Dupleix himſelf Nabob of the Carnatic, notwithſtanding that Chunda-ſaheb was ſtill alive; this, with ſeveral other pompous patents, was ſent to Pondicherry, and Salabat-jing promiſed they ſhould ſoon be followed by an embaſſador from the Great Mogul.

Mr. Dupleix publiſhed theſe mandates and marks of favour to awe the Carnatic, aſtoniſhed and rendered wavering by the cataſtrophe of Chunda-ſaheb: nor were thoſe his only reſources. He had been early apprized of the diſcontent of the Myſoreans at Tritchanopoly, and was already deeply engaged in fomenting their defection. The annual ſhips from France arriving at the time Mr. Law ſurrendered, brought a large reinforcement to Pondicherry, which he increaſed, by taking the ſailors, and ſending Laſcars on board to navigate the ſhips to China. Thus armed, and relying on no vain expectations, the diſaſters at Seringham were ſo far from inducing him to make any propoſals of accommodation either to the Engliſh or the Nabob, that he immediately diſcovered his intentions of continuing the war, by proclaiming Raja-

ſaheb,

ſaheb, the ſon of Chunda-ſaheb, Nabob of the province, in virtue of the pretended authority inveſted in himſelf, and by ordering a body of 500 men to take the field. 1752.

Mahomed-ally felt more ſeverely every day the bad conſequences of his promiſe to the Myſorean, for none but the moſt inſignificant chiefs in the province offered voluntarily to acknowledge him; the reſt waited to be attacked before they made their ſubmiſſion; and he being little ſkilled in military matters, but deeply ſenſible of the decline of his fortune, conceived a notion, that the Engliſh troops were capable of reducing the fortreſs of Gingee; in this perſuaſion he requeſted of the preſidency in the moſt preſſing terms to render him this ſervice, and they with too much complaiſance determined to give him the ſatisfaction of ſeeing the experiment tried, notwithſtanding that major Lawrence went to Madraſs on purpoſe to repreſent the improbability of ſucceeding in the attempt.

Accordingly on the 23d of July, major Kineer, an officer lately arrived from Europe, marched with 200 Europeans, 1500 Sepoys, and 600 of the Nabob's cavalry, and the next day ſummoned Villaparam, a fort twelve miles to the north of Trivadi: it ſurrendered without making any reſiſtance. Proceeding on their march, they found difficulties increaſe; for the country 10 miles round Gingee is incloſed by a circular chain of mountains, and the roads leading through them are ſtrong paſſes, of which it is neceſſary that an army attacking the place ſhould be in poſſeſſion, in order to keep the communication open. Major Kineer's force being much too ſmall to afford proper detachments for this ſervice, he marched on with the whole to Gingee, where he arrived the 26th. The garriſon was ſummoned to ſurrender, and the officer anſwered with civility, that he kept the place for the king of France, and was determined to defend it. The troops were in no condition to attack it; for by ſome unaccountable preſumption, they had neglected to wait for two pieces of battering cannon, which were coming from Fort St. David. Mr. Dupleix no ſooner heard that the Engliſh had paſſed the mountains, than he detached 300 Europeans and 500 Sepoys, with ſeven field pieces, who took poſſeſſion of Vickravandi, a town ſituated in the high road, and not far

1752. diſtant from the paſs through which the Engliſh had marched; upon which major Kineer, who upon a view of Gingee deſpaired of reducing it even with battering cannon, immediately repaſſed the mountains, and being reinforced by the reſt of the Nabob's cavalry, and ſome other troops from Trivadi, marched on the 26th of July, with 300 Europeans, 500 Sepoys, a company of Coffrees, and 2000 horſe, to give the enemy battle.

They were poſted in a ſtrong ſituation. The greateſt part of the town was encircled by a rivulet, which ſerving as a ditch, was defended by a parapet, formed of the ruins of old houſes, and interrupted at proper intervals to give play to the cannon. The outward bank was in many parts as high as the parapet: and that part of the village which the rivulet did not bound might be eaſily entered; but the Engliſh neglecting to reconnoitre before they began the attack, loſt the advantages which they might have taken of theſe circumſtances.

They marched directly to the enemy, who, in order to bring on the engagement in that part where they were ſtrongeſt, appeared at firſt drawn up on the outward bank of the rivulet, but as ſoon as the field pieces began to fire, recroſſed it with precipitation, and the appearance of fear. The Engliſh, elated with the imagination of their panic, advanced to the bank, and leaving their field pieces behind, began the attack with the fire of their muſketry only. The enemy anſwering it, both from muſketry and field pieces, and under ſhelter, ſuffered little loſs, and did much execution. The company of Engliſh Coffrees were firſt flung into diſorder by carrying off their wounded as they dropped, and ſoon after took flight; they were followed by the Sepoys; and major Kineer in this inſtant receiving a wound which diſabled him, the Europeans began to waver likewiſe. The enemy perceiving the confuſion, detached 100 of their beſt men, amongſt which were 50 volunteers, who, croſſing the rivulet briſkly, advanced to the bank. The vivacity of this unexpected motion increaſed the panic, and only 14 grenadiers, with two enſigns, ſtood by the colours: theſe indeed defended them bravely, until they were rejoined by ſome of the fugitives, with whom they retreated in order; and the French, ſatisfied with their ſucceſs, returned to the village, having, with very little loſs to themſelves,

ſelves, killed and wounded 40 of the Engliſh battalion, which ſuffered in this action more diſgrace than in any other that had happened during the war: Major Kineer was ſo affected by it, that although he recovered of his wound, his vexation brought on an illneſs, of which he ſome time after died. 1752.

The troops retreated to Trivadi, and the enemy, quitting Vickravandi, retook the fort of Villaparam, which they demoliſhed. Mr. Dupleix, animated by theſe ſucceſſes, ſlight as they were, reinforced them with all the men he could ſend into the field; the whole, conſiſting of 450 Europeans, 1500 Sepoys, and 500 Mooriſh horſe, marched and encamped to the north of Fort St. David, cloſe to the bounds; upon which the Engliſh and the Nabob's troops quitted Trivadi, and encamped at Chimundelum, a redoubt in the bound hedge, three miles to the weſt of St. David; here they remained for ſome days inactive, waiting for more troops from Madraſs, where the ſhips from England had brought a reinforcement, conſiſting principally of two companies of Swiſs, each of 100 men, commanded by officers of that nation.

To avoid the riſque and delay of a march by land, one of theſe companies was immediately embarked in Maſſoolas, the common and ſlighteſt boats of the country, and ordered to proceed to Fort St. David by ſea; for it was not imagined that the French would venture to violate the Engliſh colours on this element: but the boats no ſooner came in ſight of Pondicherry than a ſhip in the road weighed anchor, and ſeizing every one of the boats, carried the troops into the town; where Mr. Dupleix kept them priſoners, and inſiſted that the capture was as juſtifiable as that which had been made of his own troops at Seringham.

As ſoon as the news of this loſs reached Madraſs, Major Lawrence embarked with the other company of Swiſs, on board of one of the company's ſhips, and arrived the 16th of Auguſt at Fort St. David. The next day he took the command of the army, which conſiſted of 400 Europeans, 1700 Sepoys, and 4000 of the Nabob's troops, cavalry, and Peons, with eight field pieces. The enemy hearing of his arrival decamped in the night, and retreated to Bahoor, and finding them-

1752. ſelves followed, the next day went nearer to Pondicherry, and encamped between the bound hedge and Villanour, from whence the commanding officer ſent a letter proteſting againſt the Engliſh, for not reſpecting the territory of the French company. Major Lawrence being inſtructed by the preſidency not to enter their antient limits, the bound hedge, unleſs they ſhould ſet the example, contented himſelf with attacking their advanced poſt at Villanour, which they immediately abandoned, and their whole army retreated under the walls of the town.

They ſhewed ſo little inclination to quit this ſituation, that major Lawrence imagining nothing would entice them out of it, but a perſuaſion that the Engliſh were more frightened than themſelves, retreated precipitately to Bahoor. The ſtratagem took effect, not with the commanding officer Mr. Kerjean, but with his uncle Mr. Dupleix, who ordered him to follow the Engliſh, and take advantage of their ſuppoſed fears. The remonſtrances of his nephew only produced a more peremptory order, in obedience to which Mr. Kerjean marched, and encamped within two miles of Bahoor, where major Lawrence immediately made the neceſſary diſpoſitions for attacking him.

The troops began to march at three the next morning; the Sepoys formed the firſt line, the battalion the ſecond, and the artillery were divided on the flanks; the Nabob's cavalry were ſtationed to the right on the other ſide of a high bank, which ran from the Engliſh to the enemy's camp: the attack began a little before the dawn of day. The Sepoys were challenged by the advanced poſts, and not anſwering, received their fire, which they returned, and ſtill marching on came to an engagement with the enemy's Sepoys, which laſted till day-light, when the French battalion were diſcovered drawn up; their right defended by the bank, and their left by a large pond. The Engliſh battalion halted to form their front equal to that of the enemy, who, during this operation, kept up a briſk fire from eight pieces of cannon, and continued it till the ſmall arms began. The action now became warm, the Engliſh firing as they advanced, and the French ſtanding their ground until the bayonets met.

This

This terrible criſis of modern war is generally determined in an inſtant, and very few examples of it occur. The company of Engliſh grenadiers, with two platoons, broke the enemy's center, on which their whole line immediately gave way, and no quarter being expected in ſuch a conflict, they threw down their arms as incumbrances to their flight. this was the moment for the Nabob's cavalry to charge as they had been inſtructed; but inſtead of ſetting out in purſuit of the fugitives, they galloped into the camp, and employed themſelves in ſeizing the plunder; however, the Sepoys picked up many of them. Mr. Kerjean, with 13 officers and 100 private men, were made priſoners, and a greater number were killed; all the enemy's artillery, ammunition, and ſtores, were taken. Of the Engliſh battalion, 4 officers, and 78 private men, were killed and wounded. 1752.

This victory broke the enemy's force ſo effectually, that Mr. Dupleix was obliged to wait the arrival of farther reinforcements before he attempted any thing more in the field; nor was this the only advantage obtained by it, for it checked the reſolution which the Myſorean had juſt taken of declaring openly for the French.

The Engliſh battalion no ſooner quitted Tritchanopoly, than the regent ſet about accompliſhing his ſcheme to ſurpriſe the city, and by diſburſing large ſums of money, endeavoured to gain 500 of the Nabob's beſt Peons, armed with firelocks. The Jemidars, or captains of theſe troops, received his bribes, and promiſed to join the 700 Myſoreans in the garriſon whenever they ſhould riſe. Captain Dalton receiving ſome hints of the conſpiracy, kept ward in the city with as much vigilance as if he had been in an enemy's country, and cauſed the artillery on the ramparts to be pointed every evening inwards on the quarters of the Myſoreans, and of the ſuſpected Peons.

Theſe precautions naturally alarmed thoſe who had been treating with the regent; but ſtill none of them made any diſcovery; whereupon, at a general review of arms ordered for this purpoſe, he directed their flints to be taken out of their matchlocks, under pretence of ſupplying them with ſome of a better ſort. This convincing them that their practices were diſcovered, the Jemidars came and confeſſed all that had paſſed, imploring forgiveneſs: each brought

1752. the ſum he had received, and that of the principal man was 16,000 rupees. They proteſted that they had no view in taking the money, but to keep their troops from ſtarving, who had ſcarcely received any pay from the Nabob for nine months; and as a proof that they had no intention of aſſiſting the Myſorean in his deſigns, they ſaid, that not one of them had removed his wife and family out of the city. Captain Dalton made them few reproaches, but ordered them to march with their troops the next morning to join the Nabob's army at Trivadi. The regent finding this ſcheme fruſtrated, hired two fellows to ſhoot captain Dalton as he walked on the ramparts, who luckily receiving intelligence of their deſign a few hours before they intended to put it in excution, ſent a detachment which took them priſoners in the houſe where they had concealed themſelves with their arms. One was ſullen, and ſaid little, but the other confeſſed the whole, and declared, that three more were engaged in the plot, who had undertaken to watch the gate of the palace, and ſhoot Kiroodin Khan, the Nabob's brother-in-law, when he ſhould come out on the tumult which the death of the Engliſh commander would naturally occaſion; but theſe, on ſeeing the ſoldiers march to the houſe, had made their eſcape. The regent, when reproached for this treachery, denied that he had any knowledge of it. He employed, however, Morari-row to ſollicit the pardon of the aſſaſſins; and the friendſhip of the Morattoe being at this time thought very valuable, Kiroodin Khan granted his requeſt, but did not reprieve the men before they had gone through the ceremony of being faſtened to the muzzles of two field pieces in ſight of the whole garriſon drawn up under arms. Five days after two other Myſoreans came to the Jemidar, who commanded 180 Sepoys at one of the gates of the city, and attempted to ſeduce him; but this officer, an old and faithful ſervant of the company, ſecured the fellows, and carried them to captain Dalton. The articles ſigned by the regent were found on them, which leaving no room for equivocation, they confeſſed the fact, and were the next morning blown from the muzzles of two field pieces. This execution ſtruck ſuch a terror, that the regent could not get any more of his own people to undertake ſuch commiſſions; and having remained quiet for ſome days, he at length pitched

upon

upon one Clement Poverio, a Neapolitan, who commanded a company of Topaſſes in the Nabob's ſervice, and had often the guard over the French priſoners in the city. This man, trading a good deal, went frequently into the camp of the Myſoreans, which gave the regent an opportunity of making application to him in perſon. He aſſured Poverio that he had, beſides the Myſoreans in garriſon, a ſtrong party in the city, and offered great rewards if he would join them on the firſt commotion. The Neapolitan gave him cauſe to believe he was to be wrought upon, but ſaid he muſt firſt ſound the diſpoſition of his officers; and on his return he made a faithful report to captain Dalton of what had paſſed. He was ordered to return to the camp the next morning with inſtructions how to proceed, and conducted himſelf ſo dexterouſly, that a few conferences intirely gained him the confidence of the regent. Having ſettled the plan of operations, he brought to captain Dalton the agreement ſigned by the regent and himſelf, ſealed with the great ſeal of Myſore: it was ſpecified, that captain Poverio ſhould receive 20,000 rupees for himſelf, and 3000 more to buy firelocks, in order to arm the French priſoners, who were to be let out the firſt time his company took the guard over them; he was at the ſame time to ſeize on the weſtern gate of the city, near which the Myſoreans were encamped, and to hoiſt a red flag, on which ſignal the whole army were to move, and enter the town. 1752.

On the day fixed for the execution of this enterprize, all the cannon that could be brought to bear on the Myſore camp were well manned, and above 700 muſkeeters, Europeans and Sepoys, were concealed in the traverſes and works near the weſtern gateway, with a great number of hand grenades; the reſt of the garriſon was under arms, and the Myſoreans would certainly have ſuffered ſeverely; but the fears of the Nabob's brother-in-law put a ſtop to the enterprize. He was apprehenſive that the attempt might ſucceed, and to avoid the riſque, ſent a meſſenger to upbraid the regent, and to acquaint him that the garriſon were prepared to receive him.

The regent thinking himſelf no longer ſafe under the cannon of the city, decamped, and fixed his head quarters three miles to the weſtward, at the Pagodas of Warior, which were garriſoned by Engliſh Sepoys; but

1752. but finding that captain Dalton had reinforced this poſt, he moved again, and encamped near Seringham.

The mutual diſtruſt increaſed daily, although the outward appearance of friendſhip ſubſiſted; for the regent ſent every day one of his principal officers to enquire after captain Dalton's health, in order to have an opportunity of diſcovering what he was doing. When the two months ſtipulated for the delivery of the city were expired, he ſent four of his great men in form to demand the ſurrender of it; but Kiroodin Khan, a man haughty and inſolent, when no danger was near, flew out into a paſſion, and reproaching the commiſſaries with the treacherous and clandeſtine practices of their prince, produced the agreement with captain Poverio, ſigned and ſealed, and then told them plainly, that they had no city to expect, but ſhould be paid the money which the regent had diſburſed, as ſoon as the Nabob's finances were in a better condition.

The regent pretended to be much offended with this anſwer; however, after ſome conſideration, he ſent his miniſter to lay the accounts before the Nabob, declaring, that he was willing to relinquiſh his claim to Tritchanopoly, provided the money was immediately paid. This appearance of moderation was only intended to leſſen the Nabob's character with the publick, and to juſtify the meaſures he was determined to take himſelf; for he was too well acquainted with his circumſtances, to imagine him able to pay ſo large a ſum, which, by the accounts he produced, amounted to 8,500,000 rupees.

There now remained little hopes of reconciling the difference, which Mr. Dupleix had from the beginning diligently inflamed: knowing that it was the intereſt of the Morattoes to protract a war, he addreſſed himſelf particularly to Morari-row, who continually received preſents and letters from him, as alſo from his wife. In theſe letters the Engliſh were repreſented as a plodding mercantile people, unacquainted with the art of war, and not fit to appear in the field, oppoſed to a nation of ſo martial a genius as the French; and the ſucceſs at Seringham was totally aſcribed to the valour and activity of the Morattoe cavalry.

Morari-

Morari-row having ſettled his plan, eaſily perſuaded the regent to acquieſce to it, and embaſſadors were ſent to Pondicherry, where a treaty was ſoon concluded, and war reſolved: Mr. Dupleix promiſing to take Tritchanopoly, and give it to the Myſoreans. In conſequence of this alliance, Innis Khan, with 3000 Morattoes, was detached from Seringham in the middle of Auguſt, with inſtructions to join the French, but firſt to go to the Nabob's camp, and endeavour to get ſome money from him; for this object never failed to be interwoven in all Morari-row's ſchemes. The detachment taking time to plunder the province as they marched along, were at ſome diſtance from the coaſt when they received news of the battle at Bahoor: ſtartled at this ſucceſs, Innis Khan halted, waiting for farther inſtructions from Tritchanopoly, in conſequence of which he joined the Nabob, with great proteſtations of friendſhip and ſeeming joy at the late event, pretending to lament that he had not come up in time to have a ſhare in it; and in order to accompliſh his intention of getting money, he did not heſitate to take the oath of fidelity to the Nabob. 1752.

Major Lawrence, notwithſtanding his late ſucceſs at Bahoor, did not think it prudent to engage in any farther operations, whilſt he remained in uncertainty of the reſolution which theſe Morattoes might take; but as ſoon as they joined him, he moved from Fort St. David to Trivadi, and prepared to employ the remainder of the ſeaſon before the rains began, in reducing the country between Pondicherry and the river Paliar. At the ſame time the Nabob requeſted the preſidency to ſend a force to attack Chinglapet and Cobelong, two ſtrong holds, ſituated to the north of that river, which kept in ſubjection a conſiderable tract of country, and from whence detachments frequently plundered the territory belonging to the Nabob and the company.

Madraſs was able to furniſh no more than 200 European recruits, juſt arrived from England, and, as uſual, the refuſe of the vileſt employments in London, together with 500 Sepoys newly raiſed, and as unexperienced as the Europeans. Such a force appeared very unequal to the enterprize of laying ſiege to ſtrong forts; and it could hardly be expected that any officer, who had acquired reputation, would riſque it by taking the command of them; but captain Clive, whoſe military

1752. life had been a continued option of difficulties, voluntarily offered his ſervice on this occaſion, notwithſtanding that his health was at this time much impaired by the exceſs of his former fatigues.

The troops, with four 24 pounders, marched on the 10th of September againſt Cobelong. This fort, called by the Moors Saudet Bundar, and ſituated twenty miles ſouth of Madras, and within muſket ſhot of the ſea, was built by An'war-adean Khan, near the ruins of another belonging to the Oſtend company. The French got poſſeſſion of it in the beginning of the year 1750 by a ſtratagem. A ſhip anchored in the road, making ſignals of diſtreſs, and the Moors who repaired on board were told, that moſt of the crew had died of the ſcurvy, and that the reſt would periſh likewiſe, if they were not permitted to come aſhore immediately, ſince they were no longer able to navigate the veſſel. The Nabob's officer, in hopes of being well paid, granted their requeſt, on which thirty Frenchmen of lean and yellow phyſiognomies, counterfeiting various kinds of infirmities, were admitted, and having arms concealed under their cloaths, overpowered the garriſon in the night. The fort had no ditch but a ſtrong wall, flanked by round towers, on which were mounted thirty pieces of cannon, and it was garriſoned by 50 Europeans and 300 Sepoys.

The Engliſh troops arrived in the evening at an eminence about two miles to the weſtward, from whence half of them marched in the night under the command of lieutenant Cooper, to take poſſeſſion of a garden, ſituated about 600 yards to the ſouth of the fort. At break of day the garriſon detached 30 Europeans and 100 Sepoys, who, advancing to the garden unobſerved, began to fire through ſeveral large crevices in the gate, which was in a ruinous condition, and a ſhot killed lieutenant Cooper. The troops were ſo terrified by this alarm, and by the death of their officer, that they fled precipitately out of the garden, and would probably have run back to Madraſs, had they not been met by captain Clive advancing with the reſt of his force, who obliged them, not without difficulty, and even violence, to rally, and return with him to the garden, which the enemy abandoned on his approach.

The

The next day he ſent a ſummons to the French officer, who an- 1752.
ſwered that the fort belonged to the king of France, and that if the Engliſh committed any hoſtilities, his nation would deem it a declaration of war; he therefore expected that they would immediately withdraw, but if they perſiſted, and attacked the place, he and his garriſon were determined to die in the breach. This bluſtering language proceeded from his reliance on a reinforcement of 700 Sepoys and 40 Europeans, which Mr. Dupleix had detached from Pondicherry to Chinglapet, with orders to the officer commanding there to introduce them at all events into Cobelong. The Engliſh the next day began to erect a battery between the garden and the Fort, at the diſtance of 300 yards from the walls; and at the ſame time placed a ſtrong guard on a rock about 100 yards to the left of the battery. The enemy brought many of their guns to bear upon the face of attack, and fired ſmartly; whilſt it was with the greateſt difficulty the Engliſh troops could be kept to their poſts, both Europeans and Sepoys taking flight on every alarm: an unlucky ſhot, which ſtruck the rock, and with the ſplinters it made, killed and wounded fourteen men, frightened the whole ſo much, that it was ſome time before they would venture to expoſe themſelves again, and one of the advanced centries was found ſeveral hours after concealed in the bottom of a well.

Captain Clive judging that ſhame would avail more than ſeverity to reclaim them from their cowardice, expoſed himſelf continually to the hotteſt of the enemy's fire, and his example brought them in two days to do their duty with ſome firmneſs. On the third, intelligence was received that the party from Chinglapet were advanced within four miles, on which he immediately marched with half his force to give them battle; but they, on hearing of his approach, retreated with great precipitation. On the fourth at noon, the battery was finiſhed, and juſt as the Engliſh were preparing to fire, to his great ſurprize, he received a meſſage from the commanding officer, offering to ſurrender at diſcretion, provided he was permitted to carry away his own effects: theſe terms were immediately accepted, and the Engliſh before the evening received into

1752. the place, where it was found that all the effects of the commandant conſiſted of a great number of turkies, and a great quantity of ſnuff, commodities in which he dealt. Beſides the cannon mounted on the walls, there were found 50 other pieces of the largeſt calibres, which proved to be part of the artillery that the company had loſt at Madraſs, when taken by Mr. De la Bourdonnais.

The next morning Captain Clive, walking out at day-break, diſcovered a large body of troops croſſing a ſmall river that runs about half a mile to the weſt of the Fort, and concluding that they were the reinforcement coming again from Chinglapet, immediately haſtened back to the garden, where the greateſt part of his force was quartered, and poſted them in ambuſcade amongſt the rocks and underwood, which commanded the high road: he was not deceived in his conjecture; for the commanding officer at Chinglapet having received the day before a letter from the officer at Cobelong, adviſing him that the place could not hold out 24 hours unleſs relieved, determined to make an effort more vigorous than the former, and being ignorant of the ſurrender, intended to ſurprize the Engliſh camp early in the morning. The Nabob's colours were hoiſted in the Fort, and theſe being white, ſkirted with green, were at a diſtance miſtaken by the enemy for their own flag; which confirmed their notion that the place ſtill held out; and they continued to advance with great ſecurity, until the whole party were within reach of the troops in ambuſcade, who then gave their fire from all ſides with great vivacity. It fell heavy, and in a few minutes ſtruck down 100 men; the reſt were ſo terrified that not more than half retained even preſence of mind to provide for their ſafety by flight: the commanding officer, 25 Europeans, and 250 Sepoys, with 2 pieces of cannon, were taken: thoſe who fled, flinging away their arms, hurried to Chinglapet, where they communicated no ſmall conſternation, of which captain Clive determined to take advantage by marching with the utmoſt expedition againſt the place.

It is ſituated 30 miles weſt of Cobelong, 40 ſouth weſt of Madraſs, and within half a mile of the northern bank of the river Paliar. The

French took poſſeſſion of it in the beginning of the preceeding year, 1752.
when their troops marched out of Pondicherry with Chunda-ſaheb to reduce the Arcot province. It was, and not without reaſon, eſteemed by the natives a very ſtrong hold. Its outline, excluſive of ſome irregular projections at the gateways, is nearly a parallelogram, extending 400 yards from north to ſouth, and 320 from eaſt to weſt. The eaſtern and half the northern ſide, is covered by a continued ſwamp of rice fields, and the other half of the north, together with the whole of the weſt ſide, is defended by a large lake. Inacceſſible in theſe parts, it would have been impregnable, if the ſouth ſide had been equally ſecure, but here the ground is high, and gives advantages to an enemy. The Indian engineer, whoever he was, that erected the Fort, ſeems to have exceeded the common reach of his countrymen in the knowledge of his art, not only by the choice of the ſpot, but alſo by proportioning the ſtrength of the defences to the advantages and diſadvantages of the ſituation: for the fortifications to the ſouth are much the ſtrongeſt, thoſe oppoſite to the rice fields ſomething weaker, and the part that is ſkirted by the lake is defended only by a ſlender wall: a deep ditch 60 feet wide, and faced with ſtone, a fauſſe-braye, and a ſtone wall 18 feet high, with round towers on and between the angles, form the defences to the land: nor are theſe all, for parallel to the ſouth, eaſt and north ſides of theſe outward works, are others of the ſame kind repeated within them, and theſe joining to the ſlender wall which runs to the weſt along the lake, form a ſecond encloſure or fortification. The garriſon conſiſted of 40 Europeans and 500 Sepoys, and there were 15 pieces of cannon mounted in the place.

A battery conſiſting of four twenty four pounders, was raiſed to the ſouth about 500 yards from the wall, which reſiſting at this diſtance longer than was expected, the guns were removed and mounted within 200 yards, and from hence in 4 days they made a breach through both the outward and inward wall; but ſtill the ditches remained to be drained and filled up, and even then a much greater number than the beſiegers might have been eaſily repulſed. But the officer, on ſeeing the Engliſh preparing to make approaches to the outward ditch, took it into his head

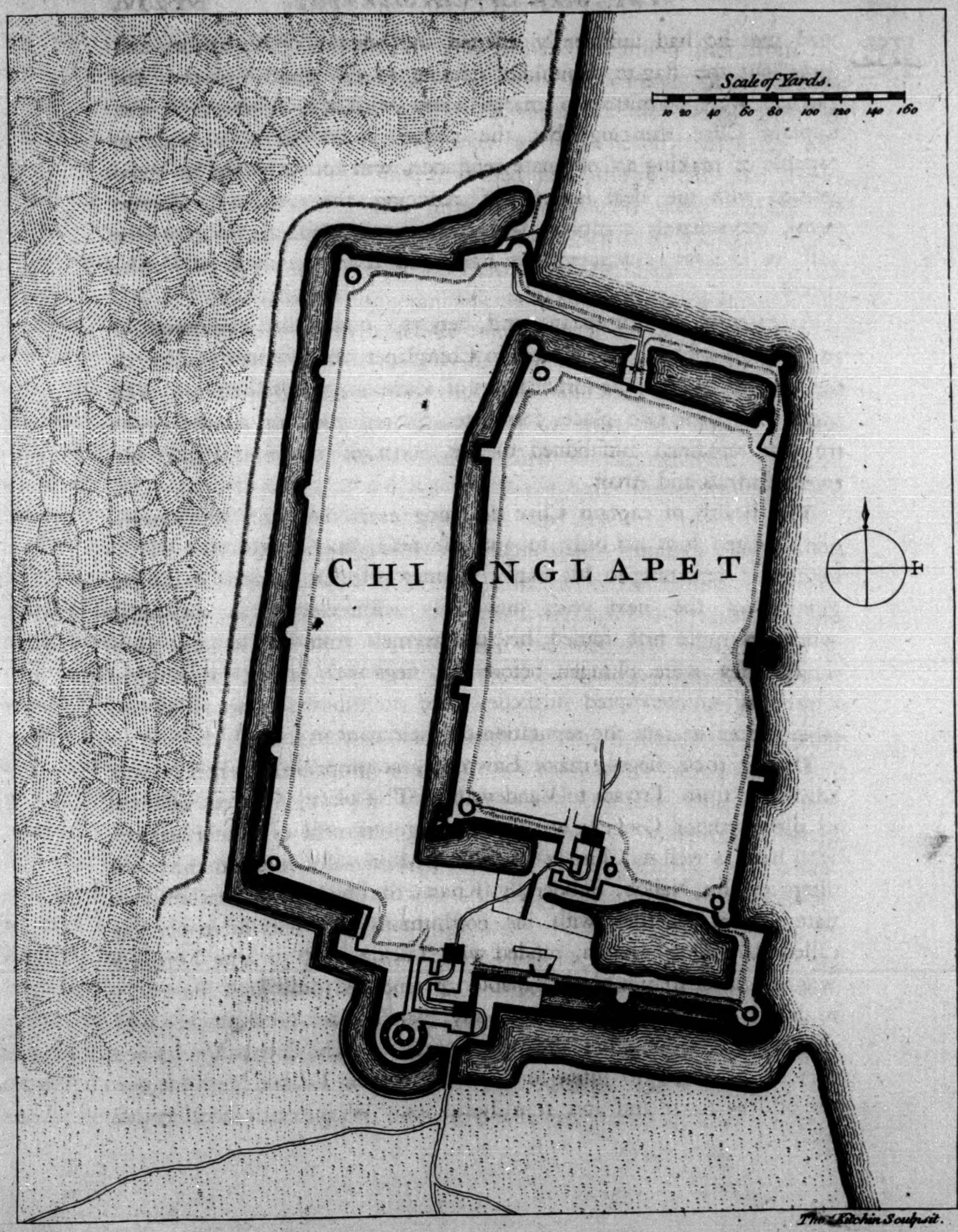
1752. head that he had ſufficiently aſſerted the honour of his nation, and hung out the flag to capitulate, offering to give up the place if the garriſon were permitted to march away with the honours of war. Captain Clive thinking that the riſque of ſtorming a place ſo capable of making an obſtinate reſiſtance, was not to be put in competition with the ideal honour of reducing the garriſon to ſeverer terms, immediately complied with the enemy's propoſals, who on the 31ſt. of October evacuated the Fort, and marched away to Pondicherry.

A garriſon of Europeans and Sepoys, under the command of an Engliſh officer, was placed in Chinglapet, and ſometime after, at the Nabob's requeſt, the fortifications of Cobelong were blown up. The capture of theſe two places completed the reduction of all the country that remained unſubdued to the north of the river Paliar, between Sadraſs and Arcot.

The health of captain Clive declining every day after this expedition, obliged him not only to quit the field, but alſo to take the reſolution of returning to his native country. He left Madraſs in the beginning of the next year, univerſally acknowledged as the man whoſe example firſt rouſed his countrymen from the lethargy, into which they were plunged before the ſiege of Arcot, and who by a train of uninterrupted ſucceſſes, had contributed more than any other officer to raiſe the reputation of their arms in India.

During theſe ſieges, major Lawrence, accompanied by the Nabob, advanced from Trivadi to Vandewaſh. This place, ſituated 20 miles to the north of Gingee, was under the government of Tuckia-ſaheb, who had, as well as Chunda-ſaheb, and Mortiz-ally, married one of the ſiſters of the Nabob, Subderally Khan: the widow of that unfortunate prince, together with his poſthumous and only ſurviving ſon, called Ally Doaſt Khan, reſided with Tuckia-ſaheb in the Fort. It was imagined that a place capable of ſending forth ſuch pretenders to diſturb the title of Mahomed-ally, would have been attacked with the utmoſt vigour; but the Nabob was in ſuch diſtreſs for money, that he preferred to liſten to the offers which Tuckia-ſaheb made to ranſom his town and fort from hoſtilities. Whilſt an officer deputed

for


Scale of Yards.
10 20 40 60 80 100 120 140 160
CHI NGLAPET
Tho. Kitchin Sculpsit.

VI 270

for this purpoſe was ſettling the terms, a cannon ſhot from the fort was by ſome accident fired into the camp. The Sepoys, vexed at the negotiation, which diſappointed their expectations of plunder, ſeized on this opportunity to break it off, and under pretence of reſenting the inſult, ruſhed into the Pettah, and broke open the houſes: the poor ſurprized inhabitants were incapable of making reſiſtance; but it being apprehended that the garriſon might ſally from the fort, a party of Europeans were ſent to ſupport the Sepoys. Tuckia-ſaheb, ignorant of the cauſe of this ſudden act of violence, imputed it to treachery, and ordered his garriſon to fire at the troops they ſaw in the Pettah. This brought on farther hoſtilities, the Engliſh bombarding the fort with two mortars, and the garriſon keeping up a conſtant fire from their muſketry and cannon until morning; when a parly enſued, which explaining matters, the troops were recalled out of the Pettah, and the contribution was ſettled at 300,000 rupees, which were paid the ſame day. 1752.

The Morrattoes during this expedition were continually roaming for plunder, which they took indifferently, as well in the countries acknowledging the Nabob as in the diſtricts of diſaffected chiefs; at the ſame time that they were doing this miſchief, they expected to be paid only becauſe they had it in their power to do more by openly joining his enemies.

The army returned from Vandewaſh to Trivadi, where they prepared to canton themſelves during the rainy monſoon, which began on the 31ſt of October at night, with the moſt violent hurricane that had been remembered on the coaſt; the rain that fell continually for ſeveral days after laid the whole country under water, and ſpread ſuch a ſickneſs amongſt the troops, as obliged them on the 15th, of November, to retire to fort St. David; which place affording quarters only for the Engliſh, moſt of the Nabob's men, unaccuſtomed to remain in the field in this inclement ſeaſon, left him, and went to their homes.

By this time the regent at Seringham, perceiving that the Nabob and the Engliſh had made ſo little advantage of their ſucceſs at Bahoor, recovered from the conſternation he had been ſtruck with by that event; and he no ſooner heard that they had returned into winter quarters, than he

1752. he ſent away Morari-row, with all his Morattoes excepting 500, to Pondicherry; and Innis Khan, with thoſe under his command, quitted the Nabob at Trivadi in the beginning of November, but not without having got ſome of the money received at Vandewaſh. Mr. Dupleix promiſed to ſend ſome Europeans to Seringham, and the regent hoping to divert the garriſon of Tritchanopoly from making any attempt againſt him before they arrived, pretended that he had no deſign to make war with the Nabob, and that Morari-row had left him in conſequence of a diſpute that had ariſen on ſettling their accounts; but notwithſtanding this declaration, his patroles of horſe ſtopped, and carried to his camp all the proviſions that were coming to the city: the effects of this hoſtility were ſoon felt; and the preſidency of Madraſs, who in conſideration of his pretenſions to Tritchanopoly, had hitherto declined to take revenge of his treacherous attempts to get poſſeſſion of it, now thought it time to treat him as a declared enemy.

In conſequence of this reſolution, captain Dalton on the 23d of December marched out of the City at 10 o'Clock at night, with the greateſt part of the Europeans and Sepoys, to beat up his camp, which extended under the northern wall of Seringham; but the regent himſelf with a conſiderable guard remained within the pagoda. An artillery officer with 3 pieces of cannon was previouſly poſted on the ſouthern bank of the Caveri, oppoſite the pagoda, with orders to create what alarm he could by throwing ſhot into the place, as ſoon as he ſhould hear the fire of the muſketry in the camp: the troops paſſed the Caveri at Chuckley-apollam, and then croſſing the iſland marched along the bank of the Coleroon, till they came within a quarter of a mile of the enemy's camp, when they halted in order to refreſh themſelves, and to form for the attack: but on the review it was found that no leſs than 500 of the Sepoys were abſent, having as they afterwards affirmed, inadvertently miſſed the line of march in the dark; however the reſt not appearing diſcouraged, it was determined to proceed: they were divided into two bodies, the firſt marched only four in front, being deſigned to penetrate through the camp, firing two to the right, and two to the left; whilſt the other, drawn up in a

more

more compact manner, were ordered to halt as ſoon as they came amongſt the tents, and there remain as a ſupport to the firſt party; who moving on, found the enemy's advanced guard faſt aſleep, and diſpatching them with their bayonets, entered the camp without oppoſition, and to the right and left began a briſk fire from front to rear. The alarm was inſtantly ſpread, and produced ſuch conſternation, that nothing was heard but the ſhrieks of men wounded, and the outcries of others warning their friends to fly from the danger. The enemy, according to their ſenſeleſs cuſtom, raiſed a number of blue lights in the air, in order to diſcover the motions of the column, but theſe lights ſerved much better to direct the fire againſt themſelves; in the mean time thoſe within the pagoda manned the walls, but refrained from firing for fear of killing their own people in the camp, who in leſs than an hour were totally diſperſed; and if the Engliſh had brought with them a petard, they would probably have got into the pagoda, and have finiſhed the war by ſecuring the perſon of the regent. Every thing being now quiet, the Sepoys were permitted to take as many horſes as they could conveniently lead away, and marching foremoſt out of the camp, were followed by the Europeans in good order; but by this time, the Myſoreans within the pagoda, finding by the extinction of the lights, that none of their own army remained within reach, began to fire ſmartly from the walls, and killed and wounded 20 men, of whom ſeven were Europeans. 1752.

The troops reached the city by day break, when they diſcovered the enemy returning to the iſland, who immediately ſtruck all their tents, and retired into the pagoda. This ſufficiently ſhewed their panic; but nevertheleſs it was evident that their continuance in the neighbourhood would prevent the inhabitants from bringing in proviſions, of which they began already to feel the want; captain Dalton therefore determined to bombard the pagoda, not doubting, that if he could drive the enemy out of it, their fears would deter them from encamping again within a night's march. With this view he ſent half his force the following night acroſs the river, and diſlodged them from a great choultry that

1752. ſtands by the water ſide, directly oppoſite to the ſouth-gate of Seringham; the building was 100 feet ſquare, and 30 high; a great number of Cooleys were immediately ſet to work, and before morning they incloſed the choultry with a ſtrong entrenchment, and likewiſe made a parapet with ſand bags round the roof, on which two field pieces were mounted. As it was not doubted that the enemy would make an effort to recover a poſt ſo capable of moleſting them, captain Dalton determined to ſupport it with the reſt of his force: the bed of the Caveri having at this time little or no water, he took poſt overagainſt the choultry, on the ſouthern bank of the river; where a little wall ſerved the party as a parapet; they had with them four field pieces, which might eaſily flank the choultry, as the river in this part was only 400 yards wide: the enemy remained quiet till noon, when having ſufficiently intoxicated themſelves with opium, they began to ſwarm out in great numbers; but the field pieces kept them for ſome time at a diſtance, every ſhot doing execution. During the cannonade a party of the Nabob's Sepoys croſſed the river, and taking poſſeſſion of a ſmall choultry at a little diſtance to the right of the other, began to fire from this untenable poſt; upon which a body of 300 Morattoe horſe galloped up to attack them, but before they arrived the Sepoys took flight; ſeveral of them were cut to pieces, and the reſt recroſſing the river, ran into the city; the Morattoes, encouraged by this ſucceſs, now galloped up towards the entrenchment of the great choultry, where they were ſuffered to come ſo near, that ſeveral of them made uſe of their ſabres acroſs the parapet before the troops within gave fire, which then began, and ſeconded by that of the four pieces of cannon on the other ſide of the river, ſtruck down a great number of men and horſes, and obliged the enemy to retire in confuſion: in this inſtant an officer took it into his head to quit his poſt and paſs the river, in order to give captain Dalton information concerning the artillery: ſome of the ſoldiers ſeeing this, imagined that he went away through fear, and concluding that things were worſe than appeared to them, followed his example, and ran out of the entrenchment; which the reſt perceiving, a panic ſeized the whole, and they left the poſt with the greateſt precipitation, notwithſtanding

withſtanding they had the minute before given three huzza's, on the retreat of the Morattoes: a body of 3000 Myſore horſe, who were drawn up on the bank, immediately galloped into the bed of the river; and charging the fugitives with fury, cut down the whole party excepting 15 men: fluſhed with this ſucceſs, they made a puſh at captain Dalton's diviſion on the other ſide. All theſe motions ſucceeded one another ſo rapidly, that he had hardly time to put his men on their guard; more eſpecially as many of them had caught the panic, from having been ſpectators of the maſſacre of their comrades: however ſome of the braveſt hearkening to his exhortations ſtood firm by the artillery; their behaviour encouraged the Sepoys, who made a ſtrong fire from behind the little wall in their front, which, accompanied by the grape-ſhot of the four field pieces, ſoon abated the ardour of the enemy, and obliged them to retreat, leaving ſome horſes, whoſe riders fell within 20 yards of the muzzles of the guns: captain Dalton then advanced a little way into the bed of the river, where he remained, till he had collected the dead and wounded. Not a man who eſcaped could give any reaſon why he quitted his poſt, all of them acknowledging that at the time when they took flight only one man in the entrenchment was wounded, and that they had nine barrels of ammunition. 1752.

This diſaſter diminiſhed the ſtrength of the garriſon near one half, not by the number, but the quality of the troops that were loſt; for the killed and diſabled were 70 Europeans, and 300 of the beſt Sepoys, together with the Lieutenants Wilkey and Crow; who having endeavoured in vain to rally the men, gallantly determined to ſtay in the intrenchment, where they were cut to pieces. No farther hopes therefore remained of driving the regent out of Seringham; on the contrary, it became neceſſary for the garriſon, thus leſſened, to give their whole attention to the ſecurity of the city, and all negotiations between the Nabob and the regent being at an end, captain Dalton turned out the 700 Myſoreans, ſuffering them to retire peaceably with their arms and baggage; but he detained their commander Gopaulrauze, the regent's brother, permitting him however to keep ſuch domeſticks as he thought proper.

1752. But leſt the enemy ſhould imagine that he was totally diſpirited, if he remained inactive, Captain Dalton determined to make ſome attempt, which, at the ſame time that it might be executed without much riſque, might make them believe he was ſtill in a capacity to act in the field. They had a poſt about four miles weſt of Tritchanopoly, at a pagoda called Velore, where the guard prevented the country people from carrying proviſions into the city. The pagoda had a ſtrong ſtone wall, and they had choaked up the great gate with mud, leaving at the bottom a wicket, by which only one man could enter at a time, and this they carefully ſhut every evening: 30 Europeans marched in a dark night, and having concealed themſelves in a watercourſe near the gate, a ſerjeant of artillery, carrying a barrel of gunpowder with a long ſauſage to it, went forward, and, digging, placed the barrel under the wicket unobſerved, although the centinel was ſitting at the top of the gate ſinging a mooriſh ſong: the exploſion not only brought down the mud-work, but alſo blew up the terrace of the gateway, with the guard aſleep on it, ſo that the ſoldiers entered immediately without difficulty, and having freſh in their memory the loſs of their comrades at the choultry, put all the Myſoreans they met to the ſword.

The regent, convinced by this exploit that famine would be the ſureſt means of reducing the garriſon, ordered a party of 200 horſe to lay on the plain every night, between the city and the country of the Polygar Tondeman, from whence only proviſions were obtained: they ſeized ſome of the people bringing in rice, and according to their barbarous cuſtom, cut off their noſes, and ſent them thus mangled to Tritchanopoly. This cruelty ſtruck ſuch a terror, that for ſome days no one would venture to bring in ſupplies: in order therefore to diſlodge this detachment, 400 men, Sepoys and Europeans, with two field pieces, marched in the evening and took poſſeſſion of the ground where they uſed to paſs the night; the enemy coming up ſome time after, did not diſcover their danger before they received the fire of the troops, which immediately put them to flight, and by their outcries it was imagined they ſuffered conſiderably.

Whatever

Whatever might be their loſs, the ſurprize ſtruck ſuch a terror, that no more ſmall detachments could be prevailed on to remain within reach of the garriſon during the dark nights, and their refuſal ſuggeſted to the regent the reſolution of dividing his force, and of forming a conſiderable camp between the city and Tondeman's country, whilſt he remained with the reſt at Seringham. A multitude of people ſet to the work finiſhed in a few days an entrenchment, with a ſtout mud wall, at a place called Facquires Tope, or the grove of the Facquire, ſituated four miles to the ſouth, and one to the weſt of the city; after which 5000 horſe and 3000 foot, being nearly one half of the army, and the beſt troops in it, moved from the iſland with their baggage, and pitched their tents within this fortification. The effect of this diſpoſition was ſoon ſeverely felt; no more grain was brought to the market, the ſhops were ſhut, and the inhabitants began to cry famine, whilſt the garriſon had the mortification to perceive themſelves incapable of removing the diſtreſs, being, ſince the loſs at the choultry, too weak to cope with the enemy, in either of their camps. 1752.

Such was the ſituation of affairs at Trichanopoly at the end of March. In the mean time the junction of the Morattoes enabled Mr. Dupleix to make head againſt the Nabob in the Carnatic, and he had likewiſe received the ſatisfaction of hearing that his ally Salabat-jing had removed a moſt dangerous competitor for the Soubaſhip, by the murder of his brother Gazi-o-din Khan.

This prince, ſuſpecting that Balazarow the Morattoe only made the war he had employed him to wage againſt Salabat-jing ſubſervient to his own purpoſes, marched himſelf from Delhi, and in the beginning of October appeared before Aurungabad, at the head of 150,000 men: the army of Salabat-jing amounted to near 100,000; the French battalion compenſated the difference; and by two or three ſucceſsful ſkirmiſhes, reduced the enemy to enter into a negociation. There accompanied Gazi-o-din Khan, a French ſurgeon, who had wandered 30 years before from Pondicherry, and was at this time principal Phyſician to the great Mogul. This man was commiſſioned by the miniſtry at Delhi to proceed to Pondicherry, and to offer Mr. Dupleix many advantages, on condition that he would withdraw his troops from Salabat-

jing:

1752. jing: for which purpoſe he was furniſhed with a blank paper, to which the great ſeal of the empire was affixed. From him it is conjectured, that Mr. Buſſy received information of the intentions of the court of Delhi, which Salabat-jing immediately ſet about to fruſtrate, by a method that could not fail of ſucceſs, as it could not naturally be ſuſpected; for he prevailed on his mother to poiſon her ſon, his brother; which ſhe effected by ſending Gazi-o-din Khan a plate of victuals, prepared, as ſhe too truly aſſured him, by her own hands. This dreadful parricide was followed by the ſucceſs expected from it; for the army, on the death of their general, as uſual, either diſperſed or went over to the oppoſite ſide.

Gazi-o-din Khan left a ſon called Sche-abeddin, who during his father's life had received a principal employment at the court of Delhi. This prince had talents ſuperior to any of his family, and would doubtleſs not have delayed to revenge his father's death, had not the convulſions which at this time threatened the throne ſuggeſted to him other views, which ſoon after rendered him the moſt important character in the ſtate; he however, immediately on the news, obtained the commiſſion of Soubah of the Decan; but Salabat-jing finding himſelf not likely to be ſoon attacked again from Delhi, continued to aſſert that he himſelf was the real Soubah; and ſoon after Gazi-o-din Khan's death he ſent, according to his promiſe, an embaſſador to Pondicherry, who pretended to come from the great Mogul, with a patent confirming Mr. Dupleix Nabob of the countries to the ſouth of the Kriſtnah: the man was received with great pomp and reſpect, and the patent publiſhed throughout the province with much oſtentation.

But ſtill this title, ſpecious as it might be, furniſhed Mr. Dupleix with no money, which in the wars of Indoſtan is of more ſervice than any title whatſoever; for the revenues which Salabat-jing received at Aurengabad were continually exhauſted by the great army he was obliged to maintain, and the charge of Mr. Buſſy's troops alone amounted to 400,000 pounds a year. The diſtreſs was as great at Pondicherry; for although many chiefs in the Carnatic had without compulſion contributed to ſupport the cauſe of Chunda-ſaheb during his life, their zeal ceaſed at his death, from their ſenſe of the incapa-

city

city of his ſon Raja-ſaheb, little qualified to proſecute a conteſt in which a man of his father's abilities had periſhed: and in this time of anarchy and confuſion, whilſt the authority of no one extended farther than his ſword could reach, every chief reſerved for himſelf whatever revenues he could collect. So that notwithſtanding Mr. Dupleix's title was acknowledged by all who did not wiſh well to Mahomed-ally, his power was confined to the diſtricts which lie between Pondicherry and Gingee, and theſe did not furniſh more than 50,000 pounds a year: at the ſame time the French company, miſled by his repreſentations, ſent out no more money than was neceſſary for their commerce, and with poſitive orders that it ſhould not be employed to any other purpoſe. Theſe diſadvantages would probably have reduced the French to ceaſe hoſtilities after the capture at Seringham, had not Mr. Dupleix been endowed (and this at leaſt is much to his honour) with a perſeverance, that even ſuperſeded his regard to his own fortune, of which he had at that time diſburſed 140,000 pounds, and he continued with the ſame ſpirit to furniſh more; but as this reſource could not laſt long, and as the ſlender capacity of Raja-ſaheb rendered him rather a burthen than a ſupport to the cauſe, he determined to make him relinquiſh the title of Nabob, and to give it to ſome other perſon; from whoſe wealth, ability, and connexion, he might reaſonably expect conſiderable reſources for carrying on the war. The man he pitched upon was Mortiz-ally Khan of Velore, to whom he diſplayed all the commiſſions he had received from Salabat-jing, and diſcovered the ſtate of his negotiations with the Morattoes, and Myſoreans. The Phouſdar, ſenſible that there could not be much riſk in taking part with ſuch an apparent ſuperiority, accepted the propoſal, levied troops, and reſolved to go to Pondicherry, as ſoon as the journey might be undertaken without danger. In the mean time 50 Europeans were ſent from Pondicherry to Velore, and with their aſſiſtance he formed a conſpiracy with the French priſoners in the fort of Arcot; who were to riſe and overpower the Engliſh garriſon, which they greatly outnumbered; but a ſuſpicion of this treachery was luckily entertained in time, to prevent the ſucceſs 1752.

1753. ceſs of it, and the priſoners were removed in the latter end of December to Chinglapett. Thus ended the year 1752 in the Carnatic.

On the 3d of January 1753, the French, conſiſting of 500 Europeans, and a troop of 60 horſe, together with 2000 Sepoys, and 4000 Morattoes under the command of Morari-row, marched from Valdore, and entrenched on the banks of the river Paniar, in ſight of Trivadi: upon which Major Lawrence, with the Nabob, returned from fort St. David to their former encampment at that place. Their force conſiſted of 700 Europeans, 2000 Sepoys, and 1500 daſtardly horſe belonging to the Nabob. On the 9th the Morattoes, ſupported by two companies of Topaſſes in their own pay, advanced with three field pieces, and began to cannonade the village of Trivadi. The battalion was immediately under arms, and the grenadiers, with ſome Sepoys, were ordered to attack their guns, which they got poſſeſſion of before the enemy had time to fire a ſecond round: the Morrattoes ſtill remaining on the plain, Major Lawrence followed them two miles towards their camp, and having as he thought ſufficiently diſperſed them with his field pieces, prepared to return, when they came galloping up again furiouſly on all ſides, and ſurrounded him. The ſoldiers preſerved their fire till every ſhot did execution, and the artillery men behaving with the ſame calmneſs and reſolution, ſoon beat them off, with the loſs of 100 men killed. Morari-row on his return to camp reproached the French for their cowardice, in not having ſupported him in the manner that had been concerted between them. He continued however with great activity to diſtreſs their enemies, by ſending out parties, which prevented the country people from bringing proviſions to the camp; and this obliged Major Lawrence, when in want, to march with his whole force, and eſcort his ſupplies from fort St. David. Theſe marches were exceſſively fatiguing, and might have been dangerous, had the French behaved with the ſame activity and ſpirit as the Morattoes, who never failed to be on the road harraſſing, and ſometimes charging, the line of march: on the 28th of January, in particular, they accompanied the battalion the whole way from Trivadi to Fort St. David: but, deſpirited by the loſs of 300 of their horſes, which were killed by the field pieces in the dif-

ferent ſkirmiſhes of the day, they did not venture to attack the troops as they were returning to the camp with the convoy. 1753.

Supported as the French were by this excellent cavalry, they might without much riſque have ventured a general engagement; but Mr. Dupleix, whoſe eye was always on Tritchanopoly, determined to protract the war on the ſea coaſt as long as poſſible, that the Myſoreans might not be interrupted from blockading the city. He therefore ordered his troops on the Pannar to act intirely on the defenſive, and to ſtrengthen their entrenchments; which, with the uſual dexterity of that nation in works of this kind, were ſoon compleated and rendered little inferior to the defences of a regular fortreſs. The Engliſh preſidency ſenſible of the great riſque of ſtorming ſuch works without a ſufficient body of horſe to cover the flanks of their infantry during the attack, ſollicited the king of Tanjore to ſend his cavalry to their aſſiſtance: he promiſed fair, and a detachment of Europeans with two field pieces marched from Trivadi to favour the junction; but they had not proceeded far, before they heard that the king had recalled his troops to the capital, on a report, that the Morratoes intend to enter his country.

Diſappointed of this aſſiſtance, Major Lawrence was obliged to remain inactive in his camp, contemplating every day the ſituation of the enemy, which he had in ſight, and fretting at his incapacity to attack them. The Morattoes in the mean time were not idle; their parties were ſeen now at Trinomalee, then at Arcot, then at Chillambrum, that is, in every part of the province between the river Paliar, and the Coleroon. In the middle of Februaſy, one of their detachments appeared, flouriſhing their ſabres, and caracolling within muſket ſhot of Chemundelum, the weſtern redoubt of the bound-hedge of St. David: their inſolence irritated the guard, and the ſerjeant, a brave but blundering man, thinking this an opportunity of diſtinguiſhing himſelf and of getting promotion, marched into the plain with his whole force, 25 Europeans, and 50 Sepoys. The enemy retreated, until the party was advanced half a mile from the redoubt; when they turned on a ſudden, and galloping up ſurrounded them in an inſtant; the ſerjeant, not doubting that the firſt fire would diſperſe

1753. them, gave it in a general volley, which did ſome execution; but before the troops could load again, the Morattoes charged them impetuouſly ſword in hand, broke the rank, and every horſeman ſingling out a particular man, cut them all to pieces. Inactivity or retreat in war is never in Indoſtan imputed to prudence or ſtratagem, and the ſide which ceaſes to gain ſucceſſes is generally ſuppoſed to be on the brink of ruin. Such were the notions entertained of the army at Trivadi, and they were induſtriouſly propagated by Mr. Dupleix, in order to encourage his new ally Mortiz-ally to ſet up his ſtandard in the province. The Phouſdar with his uſual caution firſt encamped without Velore, then advanced ſomewhat farther, and at laſt, aſſured by the Morattoes that they would cover his march, ventured to proceed to Pondicherry, where, on furniſhing 50,000 pounds for the expences of the war, he was with great ceremony and publick rejoicings proclaimed Nabob of the Carnatic.

But the ſatisfaction he might receive from this exaltation did not laſt long. It was propoſed that he ſhould begin by imitating the conduct of Chunda-ſaheb, and appear at the head of the army: this his nature abhorred. On ſettling the terms of his regency, ſo much aſſiſtance in money and troops was expected from him, and ſo little power or advantage offered in return, that he found the nabobſhip held on ſuch conditions, would be of leſs value than the independant poſſeſſion of his government of Velore. At the ſame time ſuſpecting what he himſelf would infallibly have done in a ſimilar caſe, he was terrified with the notion that Mr. Dupleix would keep him a priſoner at Pondicherry, if he diſcovered his averſion to have any farther connexion with him: theſe ſentiments did not eſcape the ſagacity of Mr. Dupleix; but he had too much good ſenſe, not to ſee that ſuch a breach of faith would probably determine the enemies of Mahomed-ally to make their peace on any terms with that prince. He therefore conſented to Mortiz-ally's return, who promiſing to make war in the country about Arcot, left Pondicherry in the end of March, convinced for the firſt time in his life, that he had met with a more cunning man than himſelf.

In

In the mean time, no military operations paſſed, excepting the ſkir- 1753.
miſhes of the Morattoes with the Engliſh battalion, during three or four marches, which they were obliged to make, in order to eſcort their proviſions from fort St. David. The French were not to be inticed out of their intrenchments, and Major Lawrence, ſeeing no other method of ſtriking a deciſive blow, determined to ſtorm their camp. The preſidency ſeconded this reſolution, by ſending 200 Europeans, of which 100 were a company of Swiſs lately arrived from Bengal, to fort St. David; where the battalion joined them, and the whole, with a large convoy of proviſions, ſet out for the camp, on the firſt of April. The whole body of the Morattoes were waiting for them in ſight of the bound-hedge; and behaved this day with more activity than ever, rarely removing out of cannon ſhot, and galloping up whenever the incumbrances of the baggage diſunited the line of march, and left intervals open to their attacks. Thus continually threatned, and often aſſaulted, the convoy advanced very ſlowly. The weather was exceſſively hot, and ſeveral men fell dead with the heat, fatigue, and the want of water. When within three miles of Trivadi, the Morattoes made a general and vigorous charge, ſurrounding the front of the line, and were with difficulty repulſed; many of their horſes fell within a few yards of the field pieces, and amongſt the ſlain was Bazinrow, Morari-row's nephew, the ſame who came to Captain Clive's aſſiſtance, after the ſiege of Arcot. His death damped their ardour, and they retreated to a diſtance. But the work of the day was not yet over; for the troops continuing their march, diſcovered, within a mile of Trivadi, the French troops and Sepoys drawn up on their right: the convoy happened luckily to march on the left along the bank of the river Gandelu. The two battalions advanced againſt each other cannonading, until the French coming to a hollow-way, halted on the oppoſite ſide, imagining that the Engliſh would not venture to paſs it under the diſadvantage of being expoſed to their fire; but Major Lawrence ordered the Sepoys and artillery to halt, and defend the convoy againſt the Morattoes, ſtill hovering about, and puſhed on briſkly with the main body of Europeans acroſs the hollow way: the enemy, who expected to find the Engliſh fatigued with a long

1753. and harraſſing march, were ſo ſtartled at the vivacity of this motion, that they only ſtayed to give one fire, and then ran away with the utmoſt precipitation, leaving the Engliſh to finiſh their march without farther moleſtation. As ſoon as the troops were recovered from their fatigue, Major Lawrence approached nearer the enemy's camp, within a mile of which, they had an advanced party, at the village of Caryamongalum; the grenadiers and 100 men of the battalion were ordered to attack this poſt, and ſoon got poſſeſſion of it; after which a battery of two eighteen pounders was erected againſt their intrenchments, at the diſtance of 700 yards: it was not till now that the Engliſh perfectly diſcovered the ſtrength of their works, which conſiſted of a parapet cannon proof, with redoubts at proper diſtances, a broad and deep ditch, and a good glacis, defended by 30 pieces of cannon. The battery fired for ſome time, but made no impreſſion, and the difficulty of getting proviſions increaſing with the diſtance from St. David, it was thought proper to deſiſt from the attempt, and the army returned to Trivadi.

In the mean time, the Morattoes were indefatigable, and being joined by a ſmall party from Pondicherry, ſurprized a fort near Chillambrum, called Bonagerry, from whence fort St. David drew large ſupplies of grain: captain Kirpatrick marched with a detachment to retake the place; and upon his approach they abandoned it in the night.

Three months ineffectually employed to bring the enemy to a general engagement, convinced Major Lawrence of the neceſſity of altering his plan of operations. He conſulted with the Nabob on removing the war to ſome other part of the country, in order to draw the French battalion from their preſent impregnable ſituation; but is was not eaſy to determine where they ſhould carry their arms; and whilſt they were deliberating on the choice, ſudden and unexpected news from Tritchanopoly reſolved the difficulty, and left them without an option.

Captain Dalton, foreſeeing the diſtreſſes to which the city would be reduced after the defeat of his party at the Choultry, had often queſtioned Kiroodin Khan, the governor, on the quantity of proviſions he had in ſtore; who always aſſured him with great confidence that he had ſufficient to ſupply the garriſon for four months. For ſome

time

time the ſmall convoys, which got into the city in ſpite of the ene- 1753.
my's patroles, balanced the daily conſumption made out of the magazines; but as ſoon as the Myſorean divided his army into two camps, all ſupplies were cut off, and a party of Sepoys, which had been ſent into Tondeman's country, were not able to get back. In this ſituation captain Dalton inſiſted on examining the magazines, when to his great ſurprize Kiroodin Khan informed him that he had taken advantage of the ſcarcity, to ſell out the proviſions to the inhabitants at a high price, not doubting but that opportunities of replacing them would offer, and acknowledged that the ſtock remaining was no more than ſufficient for 15 days: in which time the army at Trivadi could hardly receive the news, and march to the relief of the city. Expoſtulations were vain, for the miſchief was real; an expreſs was therefore ſent with this alarming intelligence to Major Lawrence, who received it at 10 at night the 20th of April, and inſtantly iſſued orders for the troops to be in readineſs to march by day break; when, leaving a garriſon of 150 Europeans, and 500 Sepoys, at Trivadi, the reſt proceeded to Fort St. David, in order to collect the neceſſary ſupplies of military ſtores.

The want of horſe having hitherto been the principal obſtacle to the progreſs of the Nabob's affairs, it was determined to apply again to the king of Tanjore, and in order to encourage, or if neceſſary to awe him into a compliance, it was reſolved to proceed to Tritchanopoly, through his dominions. The army on the 22d of April paſſed by Chillambrum, and as ſoon as they croſſed the Coleroon, the king deputed Succojee, his prime miniſter, to compliment the Nabob and Major Lawrence; and when they were arrived at Condoor, ten miles from the capital, he deſired an interview, and met them half way at one of his gardens, where he appeared in great ſplendor, accompanied by 3000 horſe, and 200 Elephants in rich trappings. Seeming to be convinced that it was his own intereſt to ſupport the Nabob, he gave orders to his horſe to proceed with him to Tritchanopoly; but the next day, after marching a few miles, they left the army, promiſing, however, to return very ſoon.

1753. During this interval captain Dalton had not been inactive at Tritchanopoly. The enemy's troops at Facquire's Tope were commanded by Virana, the ſame general who led the van of the army, when the Myſoreans firſt joined the Engliſh detachment at Kiſnavaram, where captain Dalton had an opportunity of diſcovering the little reach of his military capacity, and knowing him to be a very timorous man, particularly in the night, he did not doubt that if frequent alarms were given to the camp, the Myſorean would, out of regard to his own ſecurity, ſend no more detachments abroad to intercept proviſions coming to the city. For this purpoſe he erected a redoubt, within random cannon ſhot of the enemy's camp, but much nearer to the city; and when this poſt was well ſecured, and two pieces of heavy cannon mounted on it, the guard frequently advanced with two field pieces, and fired into the camp, in the day time taking care to return to the redoubt, as ſoon as the enemy began to move, which they were apprized of by ſignals from the rock in Tritchanopoly; but in the night they proceeded with leſs caution, and advanced near enough to throw grape ſhot into the camp, the Myſoreans never once venturing to ſend out a detachment to cut off their retreat. Encouraged by this proof of their imbecillity, the party, under favour of a very dark night, approached the 15th of April much nearer, and fired 30 rounds of grape ſhot into the camp, from each of the field pieces; which created no ſmall confuſion, as appeared by the number of lights the enemy raiſed, and the great uproar they made: next day the party had ſcarce recommenced their fire from the uſual ſtation, before they perceived the enemy decamping in a great hurry; but ſuſpecting this to be a feint to to draw them nearer in order to cut off their retreat, they continued firing very briſkly without advancing: and before noon the enemy ſtruck all their tents, and abandoned the camp, which the party then took poſſeſſion of, and found in it a large quantity of rice and other proviſions, as alſo ſeveral wounded men, who informed them, that the cannonade of the preceding night having killed an elephant, two camels, and ſeveral horſes, had ſtruck Virana with ſuch terror, that he determined not to run the riſque of another attack. He however remained to the ſouth of the Caveri two or three days longer; but

but on receiving certain intelligence of Major Lawrence's march, he joined the reſt of the Myſoreans at Seringham, and the country people ventured again to bring proviſions into the city. 1753.

On the 6th of May, the major arrived in ſight of Tritchanopoly, and entered the city without meeting any interruption; for none of the Myſoreans preſumed to appear on the plain: the number of the battalion was greatly diminiſhed during the march, which was performed at the ſetting in of the land winds, when they blow with the greateſt heat and violence; beſides ſeveral who died on the road, and others who were ſent back ſick to fort St. David, and Devi Cotah, 100 men unfit for duty were carried into the hoſpital at Tritchanopoly on the day of their arrival: many had likewiſe deſerted, particularly of the Swiſs, of whom a ſerjeant and 15 men went off in one day: ſo that the whole, including what the garriſon of Tritchanopoly could ſpare for the field, amounted, when muſtered, to no more than 500 Europeans, who with 2000 Sepoys, and 3000 horſe in the Nabob's ſervice, compoſed the army.

As ſoon as Mr. Dupleix was certain what rout they had taken, he detached 200 Europeans, and 500 Sepoys, with four field pieces, from the camp near Trivadi; who marching by the road of Verdachellum, Volkondah and Utatoor, joined the Myſoreans at Seringham, the day after the Engliſh arrived at Tritchanopoly.

Major Lawrence having allowed the men three days to refreſh themſelves, determined on the 10th of May to paſs over into the iſland, and offer the enemy battle, which, if they declined, he reſolved to bombard Seringham, and cannonade their camp: the Nabob's cavalry, diſcontented for want of pay, refuſed to take any ſhare in the action. The battalion and Sepoys therefore proceeded without them, and ſetting out at three in the morning in two diviſions, arrived at ſix at Moota Chellinoor, a village four miles weſt of the city, over againſt the head of the iſland. A large body of horſe and foot, drawn up on the oppoſite ſide, ſeemed determined to defend the paſs, but were ſoon diſperſed by the firſt diviſion, and whilſt the ſecond was croſſing they retreated towards the pagoda, from whence the Myſoreans no ſooner diſcovered the Engliſh forming on the iſland, than they

1753. they ſwarmed out in great numbers, and their cavalry, led by the Morattoes under the command of Harra-ſing, came galloping up at a great rate, and making a reſolute charge on the left of the line, where a body of Sepoys were poſted, broke through them ſword in hand; but the Sepoys ſeeing three platoons of Europeans advancing to their ſupport, behaved with ſpirit, and recovering their ground, kept up a ſmart fire, which after a ſevere ſlaughter repulſed the cavalry, who made a moſt precipitate retreat towards the pagoda, expoſed to the fire of ten pieces of cannon, eight field pieces which accompanied the troops, and two eighteen pounders which captain Dalton had ſent to the bank of the river. By this time Mr. Aſtruc, with the French troops and Sepoys marched up, and lodging the greateſt part of them in a water courſe, where they were effectually ſheltered, placed his cannon, four field pieces, on an eminence, from whence they made a briſk fire. They were anſwered by the Engliſh artillery; but as it was not thought prudent to make a puſh at the water courſe, at the riſque of being fallen upon by ſuch numbers of cavalry as covered the plain, Major Lawrence, to preſerve his main body from the enemy's cannonade, ordered them to take ſhelter behind a bank, ſo that the fight was maintained only by the artillery until noon, when a party of the enemy's Sepoys, with ſome Topaſſes, took poſſeſſion of a large choultry to the left of the Engliſh line, which they began to incommode with the fire of their muſketry; upon this the company of grenadiers, with a detachment of Swiſs under the command of Captain Polier, were ordered to diſlodge the Sepoys; which ſervice the grenadiers effected with great reſolution; and animated by their ſucceſs, purſued the fugitives until they inſenſibly gained the flank of the water courſe, where the main body of the French troops was concealed. Theſe on ſeeing the danger which threatened them, prepared to retreat, and were actually on the point of abandoning two of their field pieces, when captain Polier, who remained with the Swiſs at the choultry, and from thence could not ſee the enemy's confuſion, ſent orders for the grenadiers to return. Thus was loſt one of thoſe critical moments, on which the greateſt advantages in war ſo often depend; but without

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any disparagement to the reputation of Polier, whose orders directing him only to dislodge the enemy from the choultry, he would have been culpable, had he pushed his success farther without a subsequent order; which the Major had no reason to send, as from the situation he was in, he could not discover the distress of the enemy. On the retreat of the grenadiers, the French again took possession of the watercourse, and renewed the cannonade, which lasted till the evening, when the want of provisions, as well as the excessive fatigue which the English troops had undergone, obliged them to repass the river, and return to Tritchanopoly; where they arrived at 10 at night, having without intermission been employed 20 hours either in march or action. The loss they sustained was much less than might have been expected, from the fire to which they had been exposed; for only three officers were wounded, and two with four private men and a few Sepoys killed. 1753.

The operations of this day shewed that the French troops were commanded by an abler officer than any who had yet appeared at their head; and little hopes remaining of dislodging the Mysoreans from the pagoda, Major Lawrence gave his whole attention to the means of supplying the city with provisions. For this purpose the army marched into the plain, and encamped at Facquire's Tope, within the intrenchment which Virana the Mysore general had lately abandoned, where they lay conveniently for protecting the convoys coming from Tondeman's country; proper agents, supported by a detachment of troops, were sent to purchase grain, and at the same time the King of Tanjore was requested to collect and send supplies. But the Mysorean was not wanting to counteract these measures; he kept an agent both at Tanjore, and with Tondeman, who represented, that if Tritchanopoly should once be provided with a considerable stock of provisions, it was not to be doubted but that the Nabob and the English would immediately carry their arms again into the Carnatic, leaving their allies exposed to the just resentment of the regent, who would not fail to take the severest revenge for the service they had rendered his enemies. This reasoning was well adapted to the genius of those to whom it was addressed, for

1753. the Indians, never influenced by the principle of gratitude themſelves, do not expect to meet with it in others; and accuſtomed, after they have gained their ends, to pay no regard to the promiſes they have made, they gave little credit to major Lawrence when he aſſured them that he would never remove from Tritchanopoly, before he had provided for the ſafety of their countries. Nor did the Myſorean neglect to employ the reſource of money to alienate theſe precarious allies: in Tondeman's country he bribed the chiefs and officers of ſuch diſtricts as lay convenient for furniſhing proviſions; and at Tanjore gained over to his intereſt the prime miniſter Succojee, who intirely ruled the King his maſter; however the King not wholly unſollicitous of the conſequences, if the Engliſh fortune ſhould change again, palliated his refuſal with ſpecious pretexts, and wrote to the preſidency that the enemy's detachments had already done miſchief to the amount of 100,000 pounds in his country, where the harveſt was now coming on, but that as ſoon as it was gathered he would not fail to give them all the aſſiſtance in his power: this pretended miſchief was no more than what all other parts of the country had ſuffered from the Morattoes, who in their predatory excurſions made no diſtinction between the territories of friends and foes.

Thus, notwithſtanding no prudent meaſure was neglected, the ſupplies received were ſo far from being ſufficient to ſtock the magazines, that it was with difficulty enough was procured for the preſent conſumption of the army and garriſon. In this ſituation major Lawrence was obliged to remain for five weeks, without having an opportunity of acting againſt the enemy, who determined not to expoſe themſelves, until they were reinforced from the ſea coaſt.

The French troops in this part of the country quitted their entrenchments on the ſame day that the major marched from fort St. David, and a detachment of 200 Europeans, with 300 Sepoys, attacked the village of Trivadi; but captain Chace, the commanding officer, ſallying from the fort, repulſed them: ſome days after they renewed the attack, and were again repulſed by a detachment of 60 Europeans, and 300 Sepoys; who elated with their ſucceſs, quitted the village

village, and contrary to their orders marched out into the plain; the Morattoes, who were in ſight, waiting for ſuch an opportunity of exerting themſelves, inſtantly ſurrounded the party, and charging with great fury, routed them, and cut every man to pieces. This loſs diſabling the garriſon from making any more ſallies, the French took poſſeſſion of the village, erected a battery, and cannonaded the fort. The troops within were ſtill ſufficient to have made a good defence; but a mutiny aroſe, and the lenity of the commanding officer's temper, not permitting him to ſee the neceſſity of making ſevere examples in the beginning the men, no longer controulable, got poſſeſſion of the arrack, and mad with liquor, obliged him to capitulate, and were made priſoners of war: this misfortune affected captain Chace ſo ſenſibly, that it threw him into a fever, of which he died ſoon after at Pondicherry. At the ſame time a detachment of Morattoes, with ſome Europeans, appeared before Chillambrum, where the Engliſh kept a ſerjeant with a few artillery-men; who diſcovering that the governor was plotting to deliver them up to the enemy, marched away in the night to Devi Cotah. Nor was the loſs of theſe places and their dependancies the only detriment which the Nabob's affairs had ſuſtained in the Carnatic; for a number of petty commanders, ſoldiers of fortune, ſet up their ſtandards, and pretending to be authorized by Mr. Dupleix and Morari-row, levied contributions and committed violences in all parts of the country. Even Mortiz-ally hearing ſoon after his return to Velore that the Engliſh did not venture to attack the French intrenchments at Trivadi, and that Tritchanopoly was hard preſſed by the Myſoreans, took courage, and entertaining thoughts of aſſerting the title which Mr. Dupleix had conferred upon him, ordered his troops to commit hoſtilities in the neighbourhood near Arcot. His force conſiſted of 50 Europeans, with three pieces of cannon, who accompanied him from Pondicherry, and 2000 Sepoys, 1500 horſe, and 500 matchlock Peans, his own troops. They plundered all the villages laying near the city without meeting any interruption; for Abdullwahab Khan, the Nabob's brother, and lieutenant in the province, an indolent ſenſual man, diſſipated in his pleaſures and upon his favourites moſt of the monies he collected, and gave no 1753.

1753. attention to the maintaining of a competent force to ſupport his authority; encouraged by this negligence, Mortiz-ally threatened to attack the city of Arcot itſelf, which the preſidency hearing of, directed the commanding officer of the fort to join the Nabob's troops with as many Europeans as could prudently be ſpared from the garriſon, and attack the enemy in the field. Abdullwahab, alarmed for his own ſecurity, with ſome difficulty got together 800 Sepoys, 1000 horſe, and 500 Peans, all of them the very worſt troops in the province; they were commanded by another of the Nabob's brothers Nazeabulla, a man nearly of the ſame character as Abdullwahab. This force joined by 40 Europeans, 200 Engliſh Sepoys, with two field pieces under the command of enſign Joſeph Smith, marched out of the city on the 21ſt. of April, and when half-way to Velore diſcovered the Phouſdar's army drawn up acroſs the road, their right ſheltered by the hills. It was with great reluctance that Nazeabulla Khan could be prevailed upon to attack them, although it was evident they would fall on him, as ſoon as he offered to retreat: enſign Smith began a cannonade, and drove the French ſeveral times from their guns, but a party of 500 excellent Sepoys maintained themſelves with much more reſolution behind a bank, and in ſeveral attempts that were made to drive them from it, moſt of the Engliſh Sepoys were loſt. The enemy's cavalry ſeeing this, attacked the Europeans, but were repulſed by the grape ſhot; on which they puſhed at Nazeabulla's cavalry, who took flight without waiting the onſet, and ſoon after his Sepoys and Peans went off likewiſe, leaving the Europeans, now reduced to 25 men, with about 40 Sepoys, ſurrounded by the enemy. Enſign Smith however kept his ground until night, when his men leaving the field pieces behind, endeavoured, as they could, to get back to the city; but they were diſcovered, and all, excepting three, were intercepted; ſome were killed, and the reſt, amongſt whom was enſign Smith, were made priſoners and carried to Velore. Fluſhed by this ſucceſs, Mortiz-ally renewed his correſpondence with Mr. Dupleix, and undertook to beſiege Trinomalee, a ſtrong fort ſituated about 40 miles ſouth of Arcot, in the high road to Tritchanopoly, and Morari-row moved from Chillambrum to aſſiſt in the expedition. But Mr. Dupleix thinking it of more importance

importance to reinforce the army at Seringham, prevailed on him to detach 3000 of his Morattoes under the command of Innis Khan, and joined to them 300 Europeans and 1000 Sepoys. 1753.

As ſoon as theſe troops arrived, the enemy quitted Seringham, and croſſing the Caveri, encamped on the plain three miles to the north of Facquire's Tope. Their force now conſiſted of 450 Europeans, 1500 well-trained Sepoys, 8000 Myſore horſe, 3500 Morattoes, and two companies of Topaſſes with 1000 Sepoys in the ſervice of the regent; the reſt of whoſe infantry was 15,000 Peans, armed with matchlocks, ſwords, bows and arrows, pikes, clubs, and rockets; imperfect weapons worthy the rabble that bore them. Major Lawrence had only the 500 Europeans, and the 2000 Sepoys he brought with him from the coaſt; but 700 of theſe Sepoys were continually employed in the Polygar's country, to eſcort the convoys; his artillery were eight excellent ſix-pounders; of the Nabob's horſe only 100 encamped with the Engliſh, the reſt remaining under the walls, and peremptorily refuſing to march until they were paid their arrears.

There are, about a mile to the ſouth of Facquire's Tope, ſome high mountains called the five rocks, on the ſummit of which the Major always kept a ſtrong guard of Sepoys: but he being obliged to go into the city for the recovery of his health, the officer who commanded during his abſence neglected to continue this detachment. The enemy reconnoitring, and finding this poſt without defence, detached in the night a ſtrong party to take poſſeſſion of it; and early the next morning their whole army was diſcovered in motion, aſſembling under ſhelter of the five rocks, whilſt their advanced cannon plunged into the Engliſh camp; whither the Major immediately returned, but found it impoſſible to regain the poſt: he however kept his ground until night, and then encamped about a quarter of a mile nearer the city, behind a ſmall eminence which ſheltered the troops from the enemy's artillery; they the next day quitted the camp to the north of Facquire's Tope, and encamped at the five rocks. Here they had it in their power intirely to cut off the ſupplies of proviſions coming from the Polygar's country, and to intercept the detachment of 700 Sepoys ſent

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1753. to eſcort them: at the ſame time the great ſuperiority of their numbers, and the advantage of the ground they occupied, rendered an attack upon their camp impracticable: but it was evident that if they were not ſoon diſlodged, neither the Engliſh army in the field, nor the garriſon of the city could ſubſiſt long; to augment the diſtreſs a ſtrong ſpirit of deſertion aroſe amongſt the ſoldiery. In theſe circumſtances, even the moſt ſanguine began to loſe hope, and to apprehend that the city muſt be abandoned in order to ſave the troops from periſhing by famine.

The Major had ſtationed a guard of 200 Sepoys, on a ſmall rock ſituated about half a mile ſouth-weſt of his camp, and nearly a mile north-eaſt of the enemy's. Mr. Aſtruc ſoon diſcovered the importance of this poſt, which if he could get poſſeſſion of, his artillery would eaſily oblige the Engliſh to decamp again, and retire under the walls of the city, where, ſtill more ſtreightened, they would probably be reduced in a very few days to the neceſſity of retreating to their ſettlements. He therefore reſolved to attack the poſt, and marched early in the morning, on the 26th of June, with his grenadiers and a large body of Sepoys; but they meeting with more reſiſtance than was expected, he ordered the whole army to move and ſupport them. The Major, as ſoon as he found the rock attacked, ordered the picquet guard of the camp, conſiſting of 40 Europeans, to march and ſupport his Sepoys: but afterwards obſerving the whole of the enemy's army in motion, he ordered all his troops to get under arms, and leaving 100 Europeans to take care of the camp, marched with the reſt of his force, which, in Europeans did not exceed 300 battalion men, with 80 belonging to the artillery; and he had with him no more than 500 Sepoys; for the reſt were at this time in the city endeavouring to procure rice, of which none had been ſold in camp ſince the enemy appeared on the plain. With this ſmall force he haſtened, as faſt as they could march, to reach the rock before the enemy's main body. But Mr. Aſtruc, with the party already engaged in the attack, perceiving his approach, made a vigorous effort, and before the Major had got half way, the Sepoys who defended the rock, were all either killed, or taken priſoners, and the French colours immediately hoiſted. This

obliged the Major to halt, and conſider what was moſt adviſeable to be done in this critical conjuncture, on which the fate of the whole war ſeemed to depend. There was little time for deliberation: for the French battalion were now arrived behind the rock, and their artillery from the right and left of it, were firing upon the Engliſh troops; the rock itſelf was covered by their Sepoys ſupported by their grenadiers; the whole Myſore army was drawn up in one great body at the diſtance of cannon-ſhot in the rear; the Morattoes were, as uſual, flying about in ſmall detachments, and making charges on the flanks and rear of the Engliſh battalion in order to intimidate and create confuſion. 1753.

In ſuch circumſtances the officers unanimouſly agreed in opinion with their general, that it was ſafer to make a gallant puſh, than to retreat before ſuch numbers of enemies: and the ſoldiers ſeeming much delighted at this opportunity of having what they called a fair knock at the French men on the plain, Major Lawrence took advantage of the good diſpoſition of the whole, and giving due commendations to their ſpirit, ordered the grenadiers to attack the rock with fixed bayonets, whilſt he himſelf, with the reſt of the troops, wheeled round the foot of it to engage the French battalion. The ſoldiers received the orders with three huzza's, and the grenadiers ſetting out at a great rate, though at the ſame time keeping their ranks, paid no attention to the ſcattered fire they received from the rock, nor made a halt until they got to the top of it; whilſt the enemy terrified at their intrepidity, deſcended as they were mounting, without daring to ſtand the ſhock of their onſet. Some of the beſt Sepoys followed the grenadiers, and all together began a ſtrong fire upon the French troops, drawn up within piſtol ſhot below. In the mean time Mr. Aſtruc, perceiving that the right flank of his battalion would, if it remained drawn up facing the north, be expoſed to the Engliſh troops, wheeling round the foot of the rock, changed his poſition, and drew up facing the weſt, in order to oppoſe them in front. But this movement expoſed his right flank to the fire of the grenadiers and Sepoys from the rock; by which his troops had already ſuffered conſiderably, when the Engliſh battalion executing their evolution with great addreſs, drew up at once directly oppoſite to the enemy, at the diſtance of 20 yards.

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1753. The French troops were ſtruck with conſternation upon ſeeing themſelves thus daringly attacked in the midſt of their numerous allies, by ſuch a handful of men; and indeed a ſtranger, taking a view of the two armies from the top of one of the rocks on the plain, could ſcarcely have believed that the one ventured to diſpute a province with the other.

Mr. Aſtruc exerted himſelf as a brave and active officer, and with difficulty prevailed on his men to keep their ranks with recovered arms, until the Engliſh gave their fire, which falling in a well levelled diſcharge from the whole battalion, and ſeconded by a hot fire from the rock, together with a diſcharge of grape ſhot from the firſt field piece that came up, threw them into irreparable diſorder; they ran away with the utmoſt precipitation, leaving three pieces of cannon, with ſome ammunition carts behind them. The Morattoes immediately made a gallant effort to cover their retreat by flinging themſelves between, and ſome of the grenadiers, who had run forward to ſeize the field pieces, fell under their ſabres. Animated by this ſucceſs, they attacked the battalion, puſhing in ſeveral charges up to the very bayonets, and endeavouring to cut down the men, who conſtantly received them with ſo much ſteadineſs, that they were not able to throw a ſingle platoon into diſorder: at length having ſuffered much, and loſt ſeveral of their beſt men by the inceſſant fire of the line, they deſiſted from their attacks, and retreated to the main body of the Myſoreans: amongſt their dead was Ballapah, one of their principal officers, brother in-law to Morari-row, a very gallant man, much eſteemed by the Engliſh, who had often ſeen him exert himſelf with great bravery when fighting on their ſide: he had broke his ſword in cutting down a grenadier, when another, who was loading his piece, and ſaw his comrade fall, ſhot both ball and ramrod through his body. In the mean time the French never halted until they got into the rear of the Myſore army, when their officers prevailed on them to get into order again, and drew them up in a line with their allies, from whence they fired their two remaining field pieces with great vivacity, although the ſhot did not reach above half way.

The Major remained three hours at the foot of the rock, in order to give them an opportunity of renewing the fight; but finding that they ſhewed no inclination to move towards him, he prepared to return to his camp, leaving them to take poſſeſſion of the rock again at their peril; for ſince the loſs of the 200 Sepoys that defended it in the beginning of the action, he did not think it prudent to expoſe another detachment to the ſame riſque, at ſuch a diſtance from his main body. The three guns with the priſoners were placed in the center, and the troops marching in platoons on each ſide, the artillery was diſtributed in the front, rear, and intervals of the column. The rear had ſcarcely got clear of the rock into the plain, when the whole of the enemy's cavalry ſet up their ſhout, and came furiouſly on, flouriſhing their ſwords as if they were reſolved to exterminate at once the handful of men that oppoſed them. Whoever has ſeen a body of ten thouſand horſe advancing on the full gallop all together, will acknowledge with the Mareſchals Villars and Saxe that their appearance is tremendous, be their diſcipline or courage what it will; and ſuch an onſet would doubtleſs have diſconcerted untried ſoldiers, but the enemy had to deal with Veterans equal to any who have done honour to the Britiſh nation; men convinced by repeated experience that a body of well-diſciplined infantry would always prevail againſt irregular cavalry, let their numbers be ever ſo great. In this confidence they halted, and without the leaſt emotion, waited for the enemy, who were ſuffered to come ſufficiently near before the ſignal was given to the artillery officers: the cannonade then began from eight ſix pounders, loaded with grape, and was kept up at the rate of eight or ten ſhot in a minute from each piece, ſo well directed that every ſhot went amongſt the croud, as was viſible by the numbers that dropped: this ſoon ſtopped their career, and they ſtood a while like men aſtoniſhed by the fall of thunder; but finding no intermiſſion of the fire, and that the battalion and Sepoys reſerved theirs with recovered arms, they went to the right about, and got out of reach as faſt as they had come on, leaving the troops to return quietly to their camp. 1753.

Thus was Tritchanopoly ſaved by a ſucceſs, which aſtoniſhed even thoſe who had gained it; nor was the attempt, however deſperate it

1753. might ſeem, juſtified by the ſucceſs alone; for as the city would inevitably have fallen if the Engliſh had remained inactive, ſo the loſs of it would have been haſtened only a few days if they had been defeated; and major Lawrence undoubtedly acted with as much ſagacity as ſpirit in riſqueing every thing to gain a victory, on which alone depended the preſervation of the great object of the war.

The enemy diſpirited by their defeat, began to diſagree amongſt themſelves; the Myſoreans, and French, reciprocally imputing their ill ſucceſs to one another, and the Morattoes with great reaſon to both; their parties appeared leſs frequently on the plain in the day, and none ventured to patrole in the night: the Engliſh Sepoys in Tondeman's country availing themſelves of this interval, quitted the woods, and joined the camp in the night, with a convoy of proviſions which furniſhed a ſtock for fifty days. This neceſſary object being provided for, the Major determined to avoid coming again to a general engagement, before he was joined by ſome troops, which the arrival of the ſhips from Europe enabled the preſidency to ſend into the field: they were ordered to march through the Tanjore country; and as a body of cavalry was ſtill more neceſſary to enable the army to act with vigour againſt an enemy which had ſuch numbers, he reſolved to proceed without delay to Tanjore, in hopes that whilſt he was waiting for the reinforcement, the appearance of the army and the reputation of their late ſucceſs might determine the king to declare openly, and furniſh the aſſiſtance of horſe, of which the Engliſh ſtood ſo much in need. The preſence of the Nabob, being thought neceſſary to facilitate the negociation, he prepared to march with the army; but on the evening that he intended to quit the city, his diſcontented troops aſſembled in the outer court of the palace, and clamouring declared that they would not ſuffer him to move, before he had paid their arrears; in vain were arguments to convince this rabble, more inſolent becauſe they had never rendered any eſſential ſervice, that his going to Tanjore was the only meaſure from which they could hope for a chance of receiving their pay: they remained inflexible, and threatened violence; upon which captain Dalton ſent a meſſenger to the camp, from whence the grenadier company immediately marched into the city, where they

were joined by 100 of the garriſon, and all together forcing their way into the palace, they got the Nabob into his palankeen, and eſcorted him to the camp ſurrounded by 200 Europeans with fixed bayonets; the malecontents not daring to offer him any outrage as he was paſſing, nor on the other hand was any injury offered to them: for notwithſtanding ſuch proceedings in more civilized nations rarely happen, and are juſtly eſteemed mutiny and treaſon; yet in Indoſtan they are common accidents, and ariſe from ſuch cauſes as render it difficult to aſcertain whether the prince or his army is moſt in fault. The Nabob had certainly no money to pay his troops; ſo far from it that the Engliſh had now for two years furniſhed all the expence of their own troops in the field: but it is a maxim with every prince in India, let his wealth be never ſo great, to keep his army in long arrears, for fear they ſhould deſert. This apprehenſion is perhaps not unjuſtly entertained of hirelings collected from every part of a deſpotick empire, and inſenſible of notions of attachment to the prince or cauſe they ſerve: but from hence the ſoldiery accuſtomed to excuſes when dictated by no neceſſity, give no credit to thoſe which are made to them, when there is a real impoſſibility of ſatisfying their demands; and a weakneſs common to moſt of the princes of Indoſtan, concurs not a little to increaſe this miſtruſt in all who ſerve them; for the vain notions in which they have been educated inſpire them with ſuch a love of outward ſhew, and the enervating climate in which they are born renders them ſo incapable of reſiſting the impulſes of fancy, that nothing is more common than to ſee them purchaſing a jewel or ornament of great price, at the very time that they are in the greateſt diſtreſs for money to anſwer the neceſſities of the government. Hence, inſtead of being ſhocked at the clamours of their ſoldiery, they are accuſtomed to live in expectation of them, and it is a maxim in their conduct to hear them with patience, unleſs the croud proceed to violence; but in order to prevent this they take care to attach to their intereſts ſome principal officers with ſuch a number of the beſt troops as may ſerve on emergency to check the tumult, which is rarely headed by a man of diſtinction. But when his affairs become deſperate by the ſucceſs of a ſuperior enemy, the prince atones ſeverely for his evaſions, by a to- 1753.

1753. tal defection of his army, or by ſuffering ſuch outrages as the Nabob Mahomed-ally would in all probability have been expoſed to, had he not been reſcued in the manner we have deſcribed.

As ſoon as the Nabob arrived in the camp, major Lawrence began his march, and in order to avoid the enemy's cavalry ſtruck into the thick woods, which ſkirt the plain of Tritchanopoly to the ſouth: the approach of the army ſeemed to determine the king of Tanjore to furniſh the aſſiſtance they were coming to demand, and not to give him any unneceſſary umbrage by proceeding abruptly to his capital, the Major reſolved to halt for ſome time at a diſtance, and encamped at Conandercoile, a town in the woods half-way between Tritchanopoly and Tanjore; where, at the expiration of ten days he received advice from Mr. Palk, who had been deputed to the king, that he had prevailed upon him to declare openly, and that orders were given to Monack-jee the general to aſſemble the Tanjorine troops. On which the Engliſh army proceeded to Tanjore, where it was determined to remain until they were joined by the reinforcement expected from fort St. David.

Of all the Nabob's cavalry, no more than fifty accompanied him, the reſt remained encamped under the walls of Tritchanopoly, and a few days after the departure of the Engliſh army went in a body, and informed captain Dalton that they intended to go over to the enemy, with whom they had made their terms, deſiring at the ſame time that he would not fire upon them as they were marching off. This, as he was very glad to get rid of ſuch a dangerous incumbrance, he readily promiſed, and they went away unmoleſted at noon-day.

The enemy, having now no other immediate object, gave their whole attention to blockade the city, which they were in a condition to effect without much difficulty; for their ſuperiority in Europeans deterred the garriſon from venturing without the walls to interrupt their night patroles, as was their cuſtom when they had only the Myſoreans and Morattoes to encounter. However captain Dalton took the precaution of undermining in a dark night the poſts of Warriore and Weycondah, to the weſt of the city; the defences of Warriore were ruined, but the exploſion failed at Weycondah.

The

The late ſupplies of proviſions being entirely reſerved for the uſe of the garriſon, the inhabitants were left to provide for themſelves, and rice was now ſold in the market for half a crown the meaſure, about an Engliſh quart, which was fifteen times dearer than the common price; and fire-wood was ſcarcely to be procured at any rate. This ſcarcity ſoon obliged them to quit their habitations, and in leſs than a month this ſpacious city, which had formerly contained 400,000 perſons, was left almoſt deſolate; for the military people who remained in it, ſoldiers and artificers of all denominations, did not exceed 2000 men: Of theſe the Nabob's Peans as being capable of no other ſervice than to give an alarm, were poſted between the outward and inward wall; their number was about 1000: the ſepoys, 600, were ſtationed round the ramparts, and the Europeans, about 200, were appointed, ſome to guard the gates, whilſt the reſt lay on their arms every night, in readineſs to march to any quarter where the alarm might be given. 1753.

Vigilance ſupplied as much as poſſible the defect of numbers; nevertheleſs it was viſible that the city, thus ſlenderly garriſoned, would run great riſque if the enemy attempted a vigorous aſſault by night: nor were they entirely without ſuch intentions; for the French prepared ſcaling ladders, and often ſent parties to ſound the depth of the ditch; but theſe were always diſcovered and beat off before they could accompliſh their deſign. In the mean time, Mr. Dupleix, ſtrenuouſly importuned Mr. Brenier who had ſucceeded Mr. Aſtruc in the command, to attempt an eſcalade at all events, and ſuggeſted to him a method of getting the information he wanted by ſending one De Cattans an intelligent officer, as a deſerter, into the town: the man was promiſed the command of a company, and thirty thouſand rupees; for which he not only undertook to find out the proper ſpot where they ſhould place their ſcaling ladders, but alſo to maintain a correſpondence with the French priſoners, who were to break looſe, and ſeize the arms of the guard, and attack the quarters of the Engliſh whilſt the aſſault was made on the walls. He was admitted into the city, and ſaid that he came to offer his ſervice to the Engliſh, being diſguſted by an unjuſt cenſure which had been caſt on his conduct in the late battle at the golden rock: an over-ſtrained affectation of frankneſs in his behaviour

1753. behaviour gave captain Dalton ſome ſuſpicions, and two ſpies were ſet to watch his actions, who at different times diſcovered him meaſuring the calibre of the guns, taking a ſurvey of the works, and fathoming the height of the wall with a lead and line, after which he threw notes through the windows to the French priſoners. There was in the garriſon a French ſoldier whoſe fidelity to the Engliſh might be depended on; this man engaged to detect his countryman ſtill more effectually, and ſuffered himſelf to be chaſtized in his ſight by captain Dalton for ſome pretended neglect; after which he affected ſuch a reſentment for this treatment, that De Cattans gave him his entire confidence, offering him a great reward if he would aſſiſt in the execution of his plan. The ſoldier ſaid he was not made for great enterprizes, but offered to deſert the firſt night he ſhould be on guard at the barrier, and to carry a letter, provided De Cattans would aſſure him of a pardon for having deſerted from the French. This the other readily agreed to, and gave him a pardon in form ſigned with his name, to which he added the title "of plenipotentiary of the marquis Dupleix." At the ſame time he delivered to him a letter for Mr. Brenier which contained a full and exact deſcription of the defences of the place, and ſome commendations on his own addreſs in deceiving the Engliſh commandant, whom he deſcribed as a very young man, that placed more confidence in him than in any of his own officers. The ſoldier carried the letter to captain Dalton, who immediately cauſed De Cattans to be arreſted; at firſt he denied the fact, but on ſeeing his own writing, deſired that he might not ſuffer the diſgrace of being hanged, but have the honour of being ſhot by a file of muſketeers. He was told that his fate could not be decided before major Lawrence arrived; captain Dalton, however, deſirous of drawing the enemy into a ſnare by the ſame means which they had employed againſt himſelf, promiſed the criminal to intercede for his pardon provided he would write a letter to Mr. Brenier, and prevail upon him to attempt an eſcalade at ſuch a part as he, captain Dalton, ſhould dictate; this De Cattans readily agreed to; the place fixed upon was Dalton's battery, on the weſt-ſide, not far from the northern angle, as being more acceſſible than any other from without; but the defences

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and retrenchments within were ſtronger than any where elſe. A black fellow undertook to carry the letter for eight rupees, and Mr. Brenier, giving him twenty ſent him back with a letter to De Cattans, promiſing to put his plan into execution, and deſiring him to write frequently. In vain did the garriſon watch ſeveral nights ſucceſſively, hoping that the enemy would make the aſſault; but the various reports which they received of major Lawrence's arrival, kept them in ſuch a continual buſtle and alarm, that they could not ſpare a night for the execution of this enterprize, notwithſtanding they appeared convinced of its practicability. 1753.

The Myſoreans finding that the exploſion made at Weycondah, had done little damage, took poſſeſſion of this poſt, and mounting two ſmall pieces of cannon on the rampart, encamped 300 horſe and ſome Peans under the walls; and as the garriſon of Tritchanopoly had not lately ventured into the field, thoſe troops ſlept in perfect ſecurity without a ſingle centinel. Captain Dalton receiving intelligence of their negligence, reſolved to beat up their quarters, and chuſing a time when it was very dark, a party of 400 men, moſtly Sepoys, marched up cloſe to the tents, and made a general diſcharge amongſt them before they were once challenged. The Sepoys got ſome horſes and arms, and the whole party retreated out of reach before the enemy were ſufficiently rouzed to do more than fire a few ſhot at random.

At length, after remaining a month cloſely blockaded, and obliged to be continually on their guard, the garriſon received advice that the Major was approaching: he was joined by the Tanjorine army, conſiſting of 3000 horſe, and 2000 matchlocks, under the command of Monack-jee, as alſo by the expected reinforcement from fort St. David, of 170 Europeans and 300 Sepoys. On the 7th of Auguſt, the army arrived at Dalaway's choultry, ſituated cloſe to the ſouthern bank of the Caveri, ſix miles eaſt of Tritchanopoly, where they were detained the next day by the falling of a heavy rain, which rendered the country between the choultry and city impaſſable. This obliged them to ſtrike to the ſouth-weſt, and the 9th in the morning they continued their march, eſcorting a convoy of ſeveral thouſand bullocks provided by the Nabob, and ſaid to be laden with proviſions; ſignals

1753. ſignals from the top of the rock in Tritchanopoly, not only apprized them that the enemy were in motion, but likewiſe pointed out the diſpoſitions they were making. Their cavalry in different parties extended from the French rock to the golden rock: at the ſugar loaf rock, as being the place where major Lawrence would firſt come within their reach, they kept their main body of Europeans and Sepoys, together with their artillery; and a detachment took poſſeſſion of the golden rock. The major, when arrived about a mile ſouth-eaſt of the ſugar loaf, halted, and having conſidered the enemy's diſpoſition, formed his line and ordered his march in conſequence of it. To preſerve the baggage and proviſions from the enemy's fire, he determined not to attempt a paſſage through the poſts they occupied; but to march round the golden rock, whilſt the convoy with the Nabob and his retinue eſcorted by the Tanjorine troops, moved on at ſome diſtance on the left flank of the Europeans and Sepoys. It was neceſſary at all events to drive the enemy from the golden rock, ſince their fire from hence might greatly incommode the line of march; but as a ſuſpicion of the Major's intentions to paſs that way, would naturally induce them to reinforce this poſt, he reſolved to divert their attention, by halting, and forming as if he intended to march directly and attack their main body at the ſugar loaf rock. This ſtratagem had the deſired effect: monſieur Brenier, not an acute officer, recalled the greateſt part of his detachment from the golden rock, and with much buſtle got his troops in order to receive the Major: who in the mean time detached the grenadiers and 800 Sepoys from the front of the line, ordering them to defile behind the convoy which ſtill proceeded on, and to march with all poſſible expedition and attack the golden rock. Mr. Brenier did not perceive this motion before it was too late to prevent the effect of it; he however inſtantly ſent forward 1000 horſe at full gallop to intercept the Engliſh party, and at the ſame time detached 300 Europeans to reinforce the guard at the rock. The cavalry ſoon came up with the Engliſh party, and endeavoured to retard their march by caracolling and galloping about as if they intended to charge; but the grenadiers did not ſuffer themſelves to be amuſed by theſe motions, and fired hotly upon them without ſlackening their pace, nor made a

halt until they had mounted the rock, drove the enemy down, and planted their colours on the top, which they accompliſhed before the enemy's party of infantry, marching from the ſugar loaf rock, had got half way: who ſeeing the poſt they were ſent to reinforce loſt, had not the heart to make a puſh to recover it; but halted, and taking ſhelter behind a bank, began to cannonade the grenadiers and Sepoys at the golden rock with four field pieces. By this time Mr. Brenier with the reſt of the French troops, had proceeded a little way from the ſugar loaf rock, to ſupport his advanced party; but ſeeing them halt, he halted likewiſe. So that the main body of the Engliſh troops continued their march, and ſecured the poſſeſſion of the golden rock without interruption: The Tanjorines ſoon after came up with the baggage, and were ordered to remain with it in the rear. The Engliſh artillery were now warmly employed againſt the cannon of the enemy's advanced party, of whom none but the artillery men were expoſed, for the reſt kept cloſe behind the bank. The Engliſh battalion was drawn up in the open plain without ſhelter, and in this ſituation ſuffered conſiderably, whilſt their artillery did little miſchief to the enemy; however the ſhot that flew over the bank went amongſt a large body of horſe who were drawn up in the rear of the advanced party, and flung them into confuſion; which captain Dalton obſerving, he ſallied from the city with two field pieces, and the cavalry finding themſelves between two fires, hurried out of reach, ſome to the eaſt, and others to the weſt. In the mean time ſeveral of the Engliſh battalion were ſtruck down, and major Lawrence obſerving that the enemy's main body made no motion to join the advanced party, determined to make a puſh, and drive theſe troops from the advantageous ground of which they had taken poſſeſſion. The grenadiers, with 200 more Europeans, and 300 Sepoys, were ordered to march and attack them, whilſt major Lawrence remained at the golden rock with the reſt ready to ſupport them if repulſed, or if ſucceſsful, to join and purſue the advantage by driving the beaten party on the enemy's main body. The ſucceſs of this attempt depending in a great meaſure on making the attack before the enemy's main body could move up to the ſuccour of their party, the Engliſh for more expedition marched without any field pieces; but the artillery was notwithſtanding not idle, for they fired continually 1753.

1753. from the main body to deter the enemy's cavalry from attacking the flanks of the party as they marched. The officer appointed to lead the attack, inſtead of following his orders, which directed him to come to the puſh of bayonet without heſitation, ſent word that he could not execute them without artillery, and that he was halted, waiting for it. Upon this major Lawrence inſtantly quitted the main body, and galloping up, put himſelf at the head of the party, and led them on. The troops, animated by his example, marched on with great ſpirit, keeping their order, notwithſtanding they were galled by a very ſmart fire from the enemy's artillery, which ſtruck down ſeveral men, and amongſt them captain Kirk, at the head of the grenadiers: theſe brave fellows, whom nothing during the war had ever ſtaggered, could not ſee the death of the officer they loved without emotion. Captain Kilpatrick ſeeing them at a ſtand, immediately put himſelf at their head, and deſired them, if they loved their captain as much as he valued his friend, to follow him, and revenge his death: rouſed in an inſtant by this ſpirited exhortation and example, they ſwore in their manner, that they would follow him to hell. In this temper they puſhed on; and in order to prevent the enemy from retreating to their main body, marched to gain their right flank: the enemy had not the courage to ſtand the ſhock, but quitted the bank in great precipitation, and leaving three field pieces behind them, ran away towards Weycondah, expoſed great part of the way to the fire of the two field pieces which captain Dalton had brought out of the city, every ſhot of which, for ſeveral diſcharges, took off two or three men. The enemy's main body now, when too late, began to move to the aſſiſtance of their party, but ſeeing them irretrievably defeated, and perceiving at the ſame time the main body of the Engliſh advancing from the golden rock, they loſt courage, and without waiting to give or receive a fire, ran off in great confuſion towards the five rocks, expoſed to a ſevere cannonade from the rear diviſion of the Engliſh artillery which had been left at the golden rock with the baggage; the Tanjorine horſe remained ſpectators of their flight without taking advantage of it, by falling on them ſword in hand, which if they had done, few would have eſcaped; ſo that the loſs which they ſuſtained in Europeans did not exceed 100 men killed and wounded: of the

the Engliſh battalion about 40 men were either killed or diſabled, and on both ſides, principally by cannon ſhot. 1753.

Monack-jee endeavoured to excuſe his neglect by alledging that the ſolicitude of the Nabob and his commiſſaries for the ſafety of the convoy, made him unwilling to leave it expoſed to the enemy's cavalry which hovered round in large bodies: but this was no good reaſon, for major Lawrence immediately on the enemy's retreat ſent him orders to purſue, and the battalion were marching back to ſecure the convoy. As ſoon as the enemy were out of ſight, the army with the convoy proceeded to the city, where on taking an account of the proviſions before they were lodged in the magazines, it was found that the quantity did not exceed 300 bullock loads, and this not a little damaged: which, in weight not being more than 30,000 pounds, was ſcarcely ſufficient to ſupply the Europeans and Sepoys 10 days. It would be difficult to find an example of ſo great a negligence, in ſo eſſential a ſervice, which had coſt ſo much pains and riſque, excepting in the irregular and indolent adminiſtration of a Mooriſh government in Indoſtan; and indeed the Engliſh themſelves were much to blame for truſting this important charge entirely to the conduct of the Nabob and his officers, who had loaded the reſt of the bullocks, for there were near 4000, with their own baggage and a heap of trumpery not worth the carriage.

The enemy removed their tents and baggage as ſoon as it was dark from the ſugar loaf rock to Weycondah, where they encamped all together in ſo ſtrong a ſituation, protected by the fire of that poſt, that they could not be attacked with any proſpect of ſucceſs. The Myſoreans had always drawn their proviſions from their own country; and as there was little probability of procuring plenty to the city whilſt the enemy remained on the plain, the Major, as ſoon as the troops were a little refreſhed, marched out, and taking a circuit encamped at the five rocks, intending to intercept their convoys coming from the eaſtward, and thus retaliate the diſtreſſes which they had ſo often brought upon his army. At the ſame time Monack-jee, in order to ſecure the communication with Tanjore, undertook to reduce Elimiſerum, where the enemy had left a garriſon of 200 Sepoys and a few Europeans, who ſubmitted to him after a little reſiſtance.

1753. Major Lawrence now ordered De Cattans to be hanged in ſight of the Enemy's advanced guards: he died with great reſolution, but ſhewed much concern that he had endeavoured to betray captain Dalton, who had received him with ſo much hoſpitality and kindneſs. As the Engliſh had condeſcended to employ this delinquent againſt his own countrymen, after he was detected, his life ought to have been ſpared.

The Enemy ſtill remaining at Weycondah, major Lawrence made a motion towards them on the 23d, upon which they decamped in a hurry, and leaving part of their baggage, with a gun and ſome ammunition behind, made a diſorderly retreat to Mootachellinoor, a ſtrong poſt on the bank of the Caveri, which ſecured their communication with Seringham: the next day major Lawrence took poſſeſſion of the ground they had abandoned with an intention to ſend forward ſome artillery near enough to cannonade them; but this deſign was unexpectedly fruſtrated, for the next day a reinforcement, equal to the whole of the Engliſh force, appeared on the bank of the Coleroon. It conſiſted of 3000 Morattoes, a great number of Peans, and ſome Topaſſes under the command of Morari-row, together with 400 Europeans, and 2000 Sepoys, with ſix guns.

Moſt of theſe Europeans arrived in the end of June from the iſland of Mauritius, where they had been diſciplined; and Mr. Dupleix committed a great error in not ſending them immediately, together with Morari-row's troops, to Tritchanopoly, more eſpecially as the ſignal defeat of the French and Myſoreans at the golden rock might have convinced him that they would hardly be able to prevent the Engliſh, when reinforced by the troops of Tanjore, from making their way good to the city with the convoy: but his vanity on this occaſion confounded his good ſenſe; for treating the battle of the golden rock as a trifling ſkirmiſh, and attributing the ill ſucceſs of it to ſome pretended accidents common to the fortune of war, he ſeemed to diſdain ſending any farther aſſiſtance to an army which he confidently aſſerted could not fail to overpower their enemies in a very few days; he therefore detained this force to make conqueſts in the Carnatic; but the wilful diſpoſition of Morari-row fruſtrated in a great meaſure this deſign: for regarding no injunctions excepting thoſe of the Myſorean, who was afraid to give him poſitive orders, the Morattoe traverſed the province accord-

ing

ing to his own inclination, without keeping his force united, or acting in concert with the troops of Pondicherry. However Mr. Dupleix pursuing his plan as well as he was able, detached immediately after the capture of Chillambrum a large body of Sepoys, accompanied by some Morattoes, to attack the pagoda of Verdachellum; this force was led by one Haſſan Ally, who had long been commander in chief of the French Sepoys, and had diſtinguiſhed himſelf ſo much in this employment that the French king had honoured him with a gold medal in token of his ſervices; this man was taken at Seringham with Mr. Law, and the Engliſh knowing his capacity kept him a cloſe priſoner at fort St. David; from whence, however, he had lately contrived to eſcape, being carried through the guards in a baſket which they imagined to contain lumber. The garriſon of Verdachellum conſiſted only of 50 Sepoys commanded by a ſerjeant, who ſurrendered after a ſlight reſiſtance; from hence Haſſan Ally, joined by 50 Europeans, proceeded to Trinomalee, where they found Morari-row with the greateſt part of his force aſſiſting, according to his promiſe, the troops of Velore, who were laying cloſe ſiege to the place. The army of the beſiegers now amounted to 6000 cavalry, 5000 Sepoys, and 100 Europeans, including the 50 which Mortiz-ally kept in his own pay. The garriſon, 1500 men, commanded by Barkatoola, a faithful ſervant to the Nabob, and a gallant officer, defended themſelves with much bravery, making frequent ſallies, and in one they ſurprized and beat up the quarters of the Morattoes, killing many of their horſes; this loſs, the moſt ſenſible that the Morattoes can feel, determined Morari-row to look out for eaſier conqueſts; and leaving the Phouſdar's troops to continue the ſiege as they could, he marched away, with an intention to lay ſiege to Palam Cotah, a fort in the neighbourhood of Chillambrum. Here he was joined by a party of 350 Europeans, who endeavoured to prevail on him to march with them and attack the Engliſh ſettlement of Devi Cotah, but Morari-row, apprehenſive of the loſs he might ſuffer in this attempt, refuſed to accompany them. On this difference they ſeparated, the French marching towards the woods of Warior-pollam, in hopes of levying contribution from the Polygar; and the Morattoe to Trinomalee. Here, a few days after his arrival, he received letters from the regent, informing him of his diſ- 1753.

treſs.

1753. treſs ſince his convoys from Myſore began to be intercepted, and deſiring him in the moſt preſſing terms to move immediately to Seringham with his whole force; and Mr. Dupleix adviſing him at the ſame time that he intended to ſend all the Europeans he could bring into the field, the Morattoe, calling in all his ſtragglers, hurried back to Chillambrum, which was appointed the place of general rendezvous; from hence the whole reinforcement proceeded by very expeditious marches to Tritchanopoly, in ſight of which they arrived on the 24th of Auguſt.

Their appearance at ſo critical a conjuncture did not fail to raiſe the enemy's ſpirits, who teſtified their joy by firing ſalutes and exhibiting fireworks for three days ſucceſſively, at the ſame time making the neceſſary preparations for coming to the plains again; whilſt the Engliſh and their allies ſaw themſelves under the neceſſity of taking their meaſures to act again on the defenſive, under the ſame diſadvantages to which they had been conſtantly ſubject, excepting in the ſhort interval ſince the laſt defeat of the enemy: but even in this interval they had not been able to get more proviſions than ſufficed for the daily conſumption; for as their force was not ſufficient to ſpare conſiderable eſcorts at a diſtance for the time neceſſary to collect large ſupplies, what they received came daily in ſmall quantities, about 100 bullock loads at a time, which indeed had lately joined the camp without much difficulty. But it was evident that the enemy's detachments would now ſcour the plain again as uſual; the Major therefore, to diminiſh the riſk of his convoys coming from the eaſtward, quitted the neighbourhood of Weycondah as ſoon as their reinforcement appeared, and encamped on the ſame ground which he had formerly occupied a little to the north of the Facquire's Tope. The enemy three days after quitted Mootachellinoor, and encamped at the five rocks, where their army covered a great extent of ground, for they had likewiſe been reinforced from Myſore. From the great ſuperiority of their numbers, the Major expected that they would attack him in his camp, and ordered his men to ſleep on their arms; but they contented themſelves with following their former plan of intercepting the convoys. And the very next day, the 28th, near 3000 horſe, Morattoes and Myſoreans, attacked an eſcort of 100 Europeans with great vigour; but the men, accuſtomed to ſuch encounters,

preſerved

preſerved themſelves and the convoy by not parting with their fire, although the enemy rode up ſeveral times to the very bayonets. 1753.

The preſidency of Madraſs hearing of the reinforcement which Mr. Dupleix had ſent to Seringham, determined to ſtrengthen their own army with all the men that could be ſpared for the field, and ſent them in one of the company's ſhips to Devi Cotah; and the Major, in order to facilitate the junction of theſe troops, as well as to protect his convoys, determined to encamp farther to the eaſtward; and ſending off his baggage in the night, marched at day break the firſt of September over the plain in full view of the enemy, and pitched his camp at a little diſtance to the ſouth-eaſt of the French rock. This ground was well choſen, for the right flank was protected by ſome pieces of artillery mounted on the rock, which were flanked by the cannon of the city. The front of the camp was for the moſt part ſecured by a moraſs, and the rear by ſwamps and rice fields. The Tanjorines were exceedingly delighted with the ſecurity in which they here found themſelves, for they had before began to droop with apprehenſions of having their quarters beat up by the Morattoes; and Monack-jee exerting all his influence amongſt his countrymen, prevailed on the merchants who dealt in rice, to bring frequent ſupplies of grain, although in ſmall quantities. The enemy's ſcouts gave them ſuch good intelligence of the approach of the convoys that few eſcaped unattacked, but being conſtantly ſupported by detachments of Europeans, they made their way good to the camp; not indeed without ſome loſs, ſince it was impoſſible in the tumult to prevent the bullocks and cooleys from flinging down their loads and taking flight. However what arrived was ſufficient for the daily wants, but ſo little more, that if two or three convoys had been cut off, the army would have been obliged to have had recourſe to the ſmall ſtock which was laid up in the city. The enemy, as if determined to reduce them to this diſtreſs, moved from the five rocks, and encamped at the ſugar loaf, extending from hence to the golden rock. Here the regent and Morari-row having intelligence of the reinforcement of which the Engliſh were in expectation, preſſingly intreated the French to attack their camp before thoſe troops arrived; but Mr. Aſtruc declined the attempt, and contented himſelf with waiting

1753. ing for leſs hazardous opportunities of diminiſhing their force: at length the Engliſh reinforcement arrived on the 19th of September, at Kelli Cotah, a fort 15 miles eaſt of the city: and never perhaps had two armies remained 18 days in ſo extraordinary a ſituation, both encamped on the open plain without a buſh on it, at about two miles diſtance from each other, ſo that with their glaſſes, they could ſee one another ſitting at dinner in their tents; and a cannon ſhot from the advanced poſts might eaſily reach the oppoſite camp; but as the ſwamps in the rear of both the camps did not permit either to move farther back, both refrained from commencing a cannonade; the Engliſh deſired nothing more than to keep their battalion unimpaired until the arrival of their reinforcement, but for this very reaſon the French ought to have taken all opportunities of diminiſhing their number. Major Lawrence now apprehending nothing ſo much, as that the enemy might ſend a large detachment to intercept his reinforcement, determined if poſſible to divert their attention by cannonading their camp; and the day in which the troops were ordered to march from Kelli Cotah, an eighteen pounder, ſent from the city, was mounted about half a mile ſouth-weſt of the French rock, on the bank of the water-courſe that interſects the plain, and early in the morning the 16th of September, it began to fire ſmartly; every ſhot was ſeen to ſtrike amongſt the tents of the French battalion, who after having bore the inſult patiently for two hours, detached their three companies of grenadiers with a large body of their allies, horſe and foot, to attack the party poſted with the eighteen pounder; upon which motion the Major immediately threw a reinforcement into the watercourſe of 250 Europeans, 800 Sepoys, and three field pieces under the command of captain Charles Campbell, who defended it ſo well that the enemy were obliged to deſiſt from their attempt, and retreat to their camp, not without a conſiderable loſs; for they had bore for ſome time a ſmart cannonade from five pieces of cannon upon the ſouth-weſt cavalier of the city, as well as from the artillery at the watercourſe. This repulſe, ſeconded by a continuance of the fire from the 18 pounder, either deterred or diverted them during the reſt of the day from giving attention to the reinforcement, who having continued their march without moleſtation, joined

ed the camp in the evening. The whole conſiſted of 237 Europeans, with the captains Ridge and Calliaud, lately arrived from Europe, and 300 Sepoys. The junction of theſe troops inſpired the army with as much joy as the doubtful expectation of their arrival had cauſed anxiety and ſolicitude; and to retaliate on the enemy the ſame marks of exultation which they had lately employed on a like occaſion, the tydings were announced to them by a diſcharge of all the artillery in the camp and city. 1753.

There being now no more reinforcements to expect, and the vicinity of the enemy having greatly augmented the difficulties of getting proviſions and fuel, major Lawrence, as ſoon as the troops juſt arrived were refreſhed, determined to bring on a general battle, which if the enemy declined he reſolved to attack them in their camp.

The tents and baggage were ſent at night to remain under cover of the artillery of the city; from whence at the ſame time 100 Europeans, all who could be ſpared from the garriſon, marched out and joined the army. Every thing being prepared, major Lawrence quitted the ground near the French rock, and at day break, the 20th of September, the army appeared at the Facquire's tope, and remained for ſome hours drawn up, offering the enemy battle; but they ſhewing no inclination to accept the defiance, the major ſent for his tents again, and encamped upon the ſpot on which he was drawn up, reſolving to attack their camp the next day: as the ſucceſs of this deſperate enterprize depended greatly on preventing the enemy from entertaining any ſuſpicion of his intention, he cannonaded their camp, with an eighteen pounder, at different intervals during the reſt of the day; hoping to make them believe that he purpoſed nothing more than to harraſs and incommode them. At night the tents were ſtruck, and ſent back again towards the city, and the whole army was ordered, after taking their reſt in the open field, to be under arms at four in the morning.

The enemy's camp extended on each ſide of the ſugar loaf rock, but much farther to the weſt than to the eaſt: moſt of the Morattoes were encamped to the eaſt, the French quarters were cloſe to the weſt of the rock, and beyond theſe the Myſoreans extended almoſt as far as the golden rock, occupying the ground for a conſiderable way behind the two rocks. The

1753. rear of the camp was covered with thickets and rocky ground. The French had flung up an intrenchment in front of their own quarters, and intended to have continued it along the left flank to the weſt; but on this ſide had only finiſhed a ſmall part, ſeparated about 300 yards from the weſtern extremity of their intrenchment in front, which interval was left open without defences: the Morattoes had likewiſe flung up an intrenchment in their front to the eaſt of the ſugar loaf: at the golden rock, which commanded the left flank and the front of the ground on which the Myſoreans were encamped, the French had ſtationed an advanced guard of 100 Europeans, two companies of Topaſes, and 600 Sepoys, with two pieces of cannon, under the command of a partizan of ſome reputation. Major Lawrence being apprized of theſe diſpoſitions, projected his attack to take the utmoſt advantage of them. At the hour appointed the army quitted the Facquire's tope, and marched in profound ſilence towards the golden rock: the battalion conſiſting of 600 men formed the van in three equal diviſions; the firſt was compoſed of the grenadier company of 100 men commanded by captain Kilpatrick, the picket of 40, by captain Calliaud, and two platoons, each of 30 men, under the command of captain Charles Campbell: the artillery, ſix field pieces, with 100 artillery men, were divided on the flanks of each diviſion: 2000 Sepoys, in two lines, followed the Europeans: the Tanjorine cavalry were ordered to extend to the eaſtward, and to march even with the laſt line of Sepoys. The moon had hitherto been very bright; but a ſudden cloud now obſcured it ſo much, that the firſt diviſion of the battalion came within piſtol ſhot of the golden rock before they were diſcovered; and giving a very ſmart fire, mounted it in three places at once; whilſt the enemy, who had barely time to ſnatch up their arms, hurried down after making one irregular diſcharge, and ran away to the camp with ſuch precipitation, that they left their two field pieces, ready loaded with grape, undiſcharged. Animated by this ſucceſs, the men called out with one voice to be led on to the grand camp, and the major availing himſelf of their alacrity, remained no longer at the rock than was neceſſary to break the carriages of the enemy's guns, and to form his troops again. Their diſpoſition was now changed, the three diviſions of Europeans were ordered to

march, as near as they could, in one line in front through the camp of the Myſoreans, in order to fall at once upon the left flank of the French quarters: the Sepoys were divided on each flank of the battalion, but at ſome diſtance in the rear. Had the camp, like thoſe in Europe, been covered with tents, it would have been impoſſible to have penetrated through it in this order; but in an Indian army none but the men of rank can afford the expence of a tent, and the reſt ſhelter themſelves as they can in cabbins made of mats, ſo ſlight that they may be puſhed down by the hand. The Tanjorine cavalry, intermixed with match-locks and peans, had halted during the attack of the golden rock, on the plain nearly oppoſite to the front of the French intrenchment, and they were now inſtructed to move directly up to it, in order to create what confuſion they could with their fire arms and rockets; the battalion received the orders for continuing the march with loud huzza's, and the whole proceeded with the greateſt confidence, as to a victory of which they were ſure; the drums of the three diviſions beating the grenadiers march, the gunners with their portfires lighted on the flanks, and the Sepoys ſounding with no little energy all their various inſtruments of military muſic. This did not a little contribute to augment the conſternation which the fugitives from the rock had ſpread amongſt the Myſoreans, who were already taking flight, when the Engliſh entered their camp. The Europeans marched with fixed bayonets, and recovered arms, but the Sepoys kept up a ſmart fire upon the ſwarms that were taking flight on all ſides. The French diſcovered by the fugitives which way the attack would fall, and drew up to oppoſe it, facing the weſt; the right of their battalion was behind the unfiniſhed part of their intrenchment, and the reſt extended towards the intrenchment they had thrown up in front; which their line, however, did not reach by a hundred yards; but a bank running at this diſtance parallel to that intrenchment, ſerved to defend the left flank of their battalion. In this poſition they derived no advantage from that part of their works on which they had ſo much depended: to the left of their battalion was a body of 2000 Sepoys, who inclined to the left, intending to gain the flank of the Engliſh battalion, and the ſame number were deſigned to form their left wing; but theſe, by ſome miſtake, in this ſcene of hurry and confuſion, 1753.

1753. poſted themſelves on the ſugar loaf rock. The Engliſh troops advancing were prevented by the interruptions which they met with in the Myſore camp from keeping up in a line; ſo that the firſt diviſion had outmarched the ſecond, and the ſecond the third; however, as ſoon as they came nigh the enemy, whom they diſcovered by the portfires of their guns, the hindermoſt quickened their pace: but nevertheleſs the whole line was not completely formed before they came within twenty yards of the enemy, by which time the Sepoys to the right had advanced from the rear, in order to oppoſe thoſe on the enemy's left: the artillery in the hurry could not keep up with the battalion. The French artillery had for ſome time fired with great vivacity, but moſt of the ſhot flew too high, and killed ſeveral of the flying Myſoreans. The action commenced juſt as the day began to dawn: Mr. Aſtruc, with indefatigable activity prevailed on his men to wait and receive the Engliſh fire before they gave theirs: amongſt thoſe who ſuffered in this onſet was captain Kilpatrick, who commanded the diviſion on the right; he fell deſperately wounded; upon which captain Calliaud put himſelf at the head of the grenadiers, and took the command of the whole diviſion; the French Sepoys on the left ſcarcely ſtood the firſt fire of the right wing of the Engliſh Sepoys, but took flight: which captain Calliaud perceiving, he wheeled inſtantly round with his diviſion, and gaining the left flank of the intrenchment, behind which the left of the French battalion was poſted, poured in a cloſe fire upon them; and the grenadiers puſhing on with their bayonets, drove them crowding upon their center: the whole line was already falling into confuſion, when a well-levelled diſcharge from the center and left of the Engliſh battalion in front compleated the rout, and they ran away in great diſorder to gain the other ſide of the bank on their right, where Mr. Aſtruc endeavoured to rally them: but the grenadiers purſuing them cloſely, renewed the attack with their bayonets, and put them again to flight: every man now provided for his own ſafety, without any regard to order, running towards the golden rock, as this way was the only outlet not obſtructed; but as ſoon as they got to ſome diſtance on the plain they diſperſed and took various routs. The left wing of the Engliſh Sepoys had hitherto taken no ſhare in the engagement, for by keeping

keeping too much to the left of the battalion, they found themſelves on the outſide of the French intrenchment, on the ground to which the Tanjorines were ordered to advance; however, as ſoon as they perceived the French battalion in confuſion, they puſhed on to the ſugar loaf rock, and with much reſolution attacked and diſperſed the body of the enemy's Sepoys poſted there, who from the beginning of the action had employed themſelves in firing random ſhot indiſcriminately upon friends and foes. The victory was now decided, and the Engliſh troops drew up on the French parade. A body of Morattoes were the only part of the Indian army which made any motions to draw off the attention of the Engliſh during the engagement; they ſeeing one of the field pieces left with a few men at a diſtance behind the reſt, gallopped up, and cutting down the men, got poſſeſſion of it; but perceiving the battle loſt, they did not venture to carry it off: nevertheleſs they did not immediately quit the camp, where they were ſoon after joined by ſeveral other bodies of cavalry, encouraged by their example: but the Engliſh artillery in a few rounds obliged them to retire again, and they followed the reſt of the fugitives, who were retreating towards Seringham by the paſs of Mootachillinour. It was ſome hours before the whole got into the iſland, for the throng conſiſted of 30,000 men of all ſorts on foot, and 16,000 horſe, beſides a great number of oxen, camels, and elephants. The Tanjorines were ordered to ſet out in purſuit of the French troops, who were taking flight, diſperſed on all ſides over the plain; but they could not be prevailed on to quit the ſpoil of the camp, which they were very buſy in plundering. 1753.

The tents, baggage, and ammunition of the French camp, together with eleven pieces of cannon, one an eighteen pounder, were taken. 100 of their battalion were either killed or wounded, and near 100 more, amongſt whom Mr. Aſtruc, with ten officers, were made priſoners: ſeveral were afterwards knock'd on the head by the people in Tondeman's woods, 65 were taken ſtraggling in the Tanjore country; and a detachment of Sepoys, ſent out by captain Dalton from the city, brought in 21 of thoſe who were making their way to the iſland by the paſs of Chuckleyapolam: ſo that the whole of their loſs was at leaſt 300 Europeans, with their beſt officer; for ſuch undoubtedly was Mr. Aſtruc:

1753. it might have been much more, had the Tanjorines exerted themſelves as they were ordered. Of the Engliſh about forty Europeans were killed and wounded.

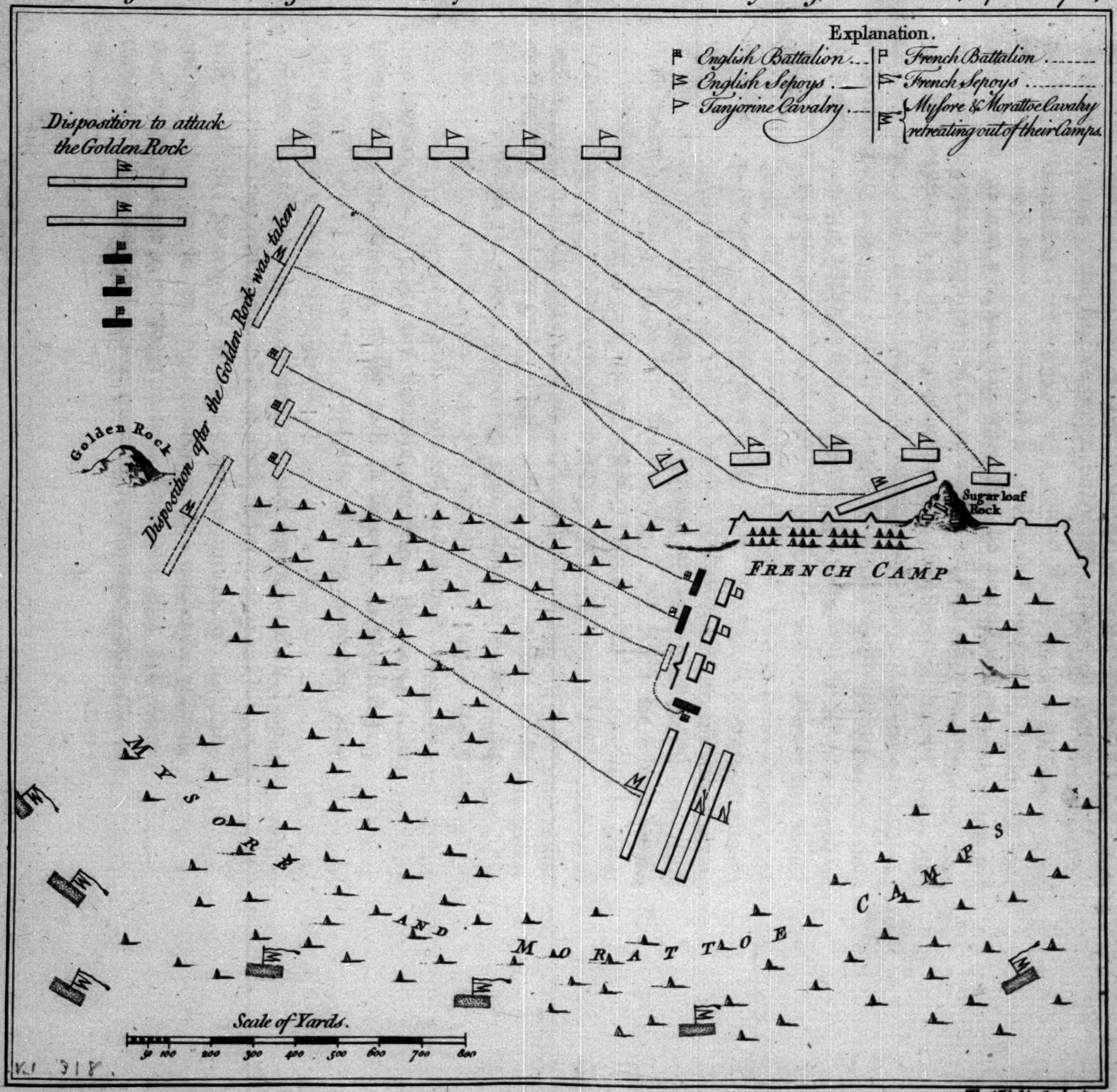
This action was decided entirely by the muſketry; for the Engliſh artillery were not brought into the engagement; and the French cannon were ill pointed, and irreſolutely ſerved, even before the conflict became hot and general; after which the event could not remain long in ſuſpence between two bodies of men, whoſe dead fell within 20 yards of each other. There are few inſtances of a victory in which the ſagacity and ſpirit of the general, as well as the reſolution of the troops, are more to be admired. The French themſelves confeſſed that they had no ſuſpicion of the intentions to attack them; nor did chance interfere to ſubſtract from the merit of this ſucceſs: for major Lawrence, before he quitted his camp at the French rock, had predicted moſt of the events which concurred to produce it: The Nabob's ſtandard was now planted in the enemy's camp; and the Engliſh flag, diſplayed on the top of the ſugar-loaf rock, proclaimed the triumph of their arms to the country ſeveral miles round.

The Tanjorines, elated to exceſs, although they had contributed nothing more than their appearance in the field to gain the victory, propoſed, immediately after the battle, to follow the enemy, and beſiege them in Seringham; but major Lawrence paying no attention to this rhodomontade, moved with the army in the evening to lay ſiege to Weycondah.

This place, now a fort, was originally, nothing more than a pagoda and choultry, ſituated on the top of a rock about 30 feet high. The rock was afterwards incloſed by a ſquare ſtone wall, carried up as high as the top of the rock itſelf, and built thick enough to afford a rampart about five feet in breadth, beſides a ſlender parapet, which has loop-holes to fire through: on the weſtern ſide there is a gateway, the top of which communicates with the rampart: the enemy's garriſon conſiſted chiefly of Sepoys. A watercourſe ſerved inſtead of a trench to ſhelter the Engliſh troops; who having cut embraſures through the bank, about 400 yards from the wall, battered it with two eighteen pounders, and at the ſame time threw ſhells from a mortar and two cohorns. By the next evening the wall was beat down, within 12 feet of the ground. Early

the

A PLAN of the ATTACK of the French, Mysore & Morattoe CAMPS by Major Laurence, Sept.r 21. 1754.



V.I 318.

Tho.s Kitchin Sculpsit.

the next morning ſome of the garriſon endeavoured to make their eſcape, through a ſally-port on the north, to a large body of horſe, who were waiting at a diſtance to receive them: theſe fugitives were diſcovered by ſome of the Engliſh Sepoys on the right, who immediately ran to prevent any more from getting out; and at the ſame time 600 other Sepoys, who were under arms in the watercourſe, ſet out of their own accord, without well knowing what was the matter, and ran directly to the breach, regardleſs of the commands of their officers, who aſſured them that it was not yet practicable; but nothing could ſtop the tumult: they made ſeveral ineffectual attempts to mount the breach, notwithſtanding they were warmly fired upon by the enemy from above. At length, finding it impracticable to ſucceed this way, they all ran to the gate, which ſome endeavoured to force, whilſt others fired up, to drive the defenders from the ramparts: but this attempt likewiſe proving ineffectual, a reſolute Engliſhman, ſerjeant to a company of Sepoys, mounted on the ſhoulders of one of them, and getting hold of ſome of the carved work of the gateway, clambered up to the top; and thoſe below handing up to him the colours of his company, he planted them ſingly on the parapet: here he was ſoon joined by about 20 of his company, who followed his example; and whilſt ſome of theſe were engaged with the enemy, others went down on the inſide of the rampart, and opened the gate. Thoſe without inſtantly ruſhed in like a torrent; which the enemy perceiving, they hurried down from the rampart, and ran up the ſteps, to gain the choultry and pagoda at the top of the rock; but the Engliſh Sepoys followed them ſo cloſely, that they had not time to make any diſpoſitions to defend themſelves there before they were attacked at the puſh of bayonet: in the firſt fury ſeveral were killed; but the reſt, about 400, flinging down their arms and calling for quarter, were ſpared. 1753.

From Weycondah the army removed, and encamped at the French Rock, where they now abounded in as much plenty as they had hitherto ſuffered diſtreſs; for none of the enemy's parties ventured on the plain, and the country people, no longer terrified by the apprehenſion of loſing their noſes, brought in proviſions in ſuch abundance, that rice, which three days before was ſold at four meaſures for the rupee, now ſold at ſixteen;

1753. ſixteen; and at this rate a ſtock was laid in ſufficient to ſupply the garriſon for ſix months at full allowance. Captain Dalton ſeeing this object of the general ſollicitude provided for, and the city in all other reſpects out of danger, quitted the command of Tritchanopoly, and ſome time after returned to Europe.

The approach of the rainy monſoon in the middle of October made it neceſſary to carry the troops into cantonment: the city itſelf would certainly have afforded them the beſt ſhelter: but the ſtock of proviſions laid up for the uſe of the garriſon would ſoon have been conſumed by the addition of ſuch a number of mouths: and as little danger was to be apprehended from any attempts which the enemy might make during the abſence of the army, provided the garriſon were commonly vigilant, major Lawrence determined to remove to Koiladdy, on the frontiers of Tanjore; from whence the wants of the army might conſtantly be ſupplied, without the neceſſity of fatiguing the troops by employing them to eſcort convoys. Four hundred Sepoys and the ſick of the battalion, with 150 Europeans, were ſent into Tritchanopoly, to augment the garriſon; a detachment was left to defend Elimiſerum; and the reſt of the Engliſh troops marched on the 23d of October to their winter quarters: they were accompanied by the Nabob, with the few troops he commanded; but the Tanjorines quitted them, and proceeded to their capital, in order to be preſent at the celebration of a great feſtival which falls out at this time of the year. It was with great reluctance that major Lawrence ſaw them depart, judging from experience, that nothing but the laſt neceſſity would induce the king to ſend them back, notwithſtanding that he promiſed, with much ſeeming complacence, that they ſhould take the field, and rejoin the Nabob, as ſoon as the monſoon was paſt.

During theſe tranſactions to the ſouth of the Coleroon, the Engliſh arms had likewiſe gained ſome ſucceſſes in the Carnatic. The retreat of Morari-row from before Trinomalee increaſed the courage of the garriſon, who ſignalized themſelves ſo much by their frequent ſallies, that the preſidency of Madraſs determined to ſend a reinforcement to their aſſiſtance; and 500 Sepoys, detached from the garriſon of Arcot, arrived in the middle of September in ſight of the place; but finding

all

all the avenues blockaded, they concerted meaſures with the governor, Barkatoola, to favour their junction, by making a vigorous ſally, on a certain quarter of the enemy's camp, which the Sepoys promiſed to attack at the ſame time in the rear. This plan was executed with ſo much vigour, that notwithſtanding the enemy took the alarm time enough to bring the greateſt part of their troops into action, they were entirely defeated: the general of the Valore troops being killed on the ſpot, and Huſſan-ally, the commander of the French Sepoys, taken priſoner mortally wounded. This loſs of their commanders ſtruck the army with ſo much conſternation, that they immediately raiſed the ſiege. 1753.

In the ſame month the preſidency were much alarmed by the attempts of Mahomed Comaul, the moſt conſiderable of the adventurers, who in theſe times of confuſion ſet up the ſtandard of independency. This man commanded a body of horſe at the ſiege of Arcot; and after the army of Raja-ſaheb was diſperſed by the battle of Covrepauk, kept together his own troops, and immediately levied contributions not only ſufficient to attach them to his ſervice, but alſo to engage others to liſt under his banner: however, alarmed by the fate of Chundaſaheb at Seringham, he judiciouſly determined to remove out of the reach of danger into the country of Neloor, the north-eaſt part of the Nabob's dominions, not doubting that its diſtance both from Arcot and Madraſs would enable him to eſtabliſh himſelf in thoſe diſtricts: he ſucceeded even beyond his expectation, for he found means to ſurprize the capital of Neloor itſelf, from whence he obliged Nazeabulla, the governor, to fly to Arcot. The Engliſh and the Nabob had ſo many enemies to fight, and ſo few troops to ſend into the field, that they could ſpare none to check the enterprizes of Mahomed Comaul, who having enjoyed the fruits of his ſucceſſes without interruption for a year, extended his views, and prepared to attack the pagoda of Tripetti. This temple, one of the moſt famous in the Decan, is ſituated on the top of a mountain, about fifty miles north-eaſt of Arcot. The feaſt of the god to whom it is dedicated is annually celebrated in the month of September, and the offerings made by the concourſe of pilgrims who arrive from all parts to aſſiſt at it, amount to ſo great a ſum, that the Bramins, beſide what they reſerve to themſelves, pay the

1753. government an annual revenue of 60,000 pagodas, or 24,000 pounds ſterling. This revenue the Nabob had aſſigned over to the Engliſh as a reimburſement in part of the great expences they had incurred in the war, and as neither the Bramins nor the pilgrims are ſollicitous to whom this money is paid, provided the feaſt goes on without interruption, it was the intention of Mahomed Comaul to get poſſeſſion of the pagoda before the feaſt began. The preſidency of Madras, alarmed for the ſafety of a place in which the company was ſo much intereſted, ſent a detachment of forty Europeans, two companies of Sepoys, and three pieces of cannon, with orders to march and defend the pagoda: they were to be joined on the road by Nazeabulla, the Nabob's brother, at the head of a large body of troops, but theſe not coming up in time, the detachment proceeded without them. When arrived near Tripetti they were unexpectedly ſurrounded by the whole of Mahamed Comaul's force, 5,000 men, horſe and foot; the detachment had juſt time to take ſhelter in a neighbouring village, where the enemy immediately attacked them, and although conſtantly repulſed, they did not deſiſt from their attempts before the night ſet in; when the detachmnet having loſt ſeveral of their Europeans, and expended all their amunition, retreated; the next day they were joined by Nazeabulla Cawn's army, with whom the day afterwards they proceeded again towards Tripetti. Mahomed Comaul met them on the plain, and the action began by a cannonade, which having created ſome confuſion amongſt the enemy, enſign Holt, who commanded the Engliſh detachment, marched up with his Europeans and Sepoys to improve the advantage; but before they came near enough to give their fire, a ſhot from a wall-piece killed enſign Holt. However the men, not diſconcerted by this accident, puſhed on under the command of their next officer, enſigh Ogilby, and attacked the enemy with great vivacity, who were already wavering, when a lucky ſhot from one of the field pieces killed the elephant of Mahomed Comaul. His army ſeeing the ſtandard of their general fall to the ground, as uſual took flight, and with ſo much precipitation, that before he had time to mount a horſe, they left him at the mercy of his enemies. He was taken priſoner and carried to Nazeabulla Cawn, by whoſe order he was inſtantly beheaded. His death

removed the moſt dangerous diſturber of the Nabob's government in this part of the country, for he was a very brave and active man: there were ſeveral other chiefs of leſs conſequence, who were conſtantly making inroads into the diſtricts of Ponamalee, Chinglaput and Arcot, and gave frequent employment to the garriſons of theſe places; but they always retreated as ſoon as they heard that a detachment of Europeans was marching againſt them. 1753.

The enemy at Seringham ſeemed ſo little inclinable to take advantage of the abſence of the Engliſh troops cantoned at Koiladdy, that they did not even ſend parties on the plain to prevent the country people from going daily with proviſions to the market in Tritchanopoly where the garriſon were as well ſupplied and lived in as much tranquility as if both ſides had agreed in form to a ceſſation of hoſtilities: the enemy, however, convinced that the Engliſh would never have attempted to attack their camp at the ſugar loaf rock if they had not been joined by the cavalry of Tanjore, determined to leave no means untried to deprive them of this reſource in future. Accordingly the regent gave Succo-jee the king's miniſter and favourite a ſum of money more conſiderable than the firſt bribe, and Mr. Dupleix ſent a letter penned in the Malabar language by his wife, in which he threatened the king, that if he dared to give the Nabob and the Engliſh any more aſſiſtance, the Morattoes ſhould lay waſte his country with fire and ſword, and that if this ſhould not be ſufficient to terrify him into a neutrality, he would bring down the Soubah Salabad-jing, with his whole army, from Golconda. The effect of theſe practices, both on the king and his miniſter, was ſoon viſible; for Succo-jee taking advantage of the timorous and ſuſpicious character of his maſter, prevailed on him to remove the general Monack-jee from the command of the army, by repreſenting him as a man in ſuch cloſe connection with the Engliſh, that he might probably from a reliance on their friendſhip, be induced to form projects dangerous even to the king himſelf; who, alarmed at the ſame time by the menaces of Dupleix, determined to preſerve his country by breaking the promiſe he had made to the Nabob and major Lawrence, to ſend his troops to Koiladdy as ſoon as the rains were over. Having brought him thus far, the next ſtep was to make him join the enemy; this likewiſe

1753. Succo-jee undertook to effect, and the king it is ſaid was on the point of ſigning the treaty, when a ſudden and unexpected event ſtopped his hand.

In the beginning of November the French at Seringham received a reinforcement of 300 Europeans, 200 Topaſſes, and 1000 Sepoys, with ſome cannon; but inſtead of giving any ſign that they had recovered their ſpirits by this increaſe of their ſtrength, they determined to remain quiet until major Lawrence ſhould be ready to quit Koiladdy, in hopes that the garriſon of Tritchanopoly would be lulled into ſecurity by ſeeing them remain inactive ſo long after the arrival of their reinforcement, and entertain no ſuſpicion of the deſign they were meditating, when the time ſhould come for carrying it into execution.

This deſign was nothing leſs than to ſtorm the city of Tritchanopoly in the night by ſurprize. The part which the French choſe to make the aſſault upon was Dalton's battery, on the weſt ſide, near the north-weſt angle of the town, the ſame indicated by the letter which captain Dalton had prevailed on the ſpy De Cattans to write to the French commander Mr. Brenier; had formerly been one part of the four gateways to this city. The entrance into an Indian fortification is through a large and complicated pile of building, projecting in the form of a parallelogram from the main rampart; and if the city has two walls, it projects beyond them both: this building conſiſts of ſeveral continued terraſſes which are of the ſame height as the main rampart, and communicate with it: the inward walls of theſe terraſſes form the ſides of an intricate paſſage, about twenty feet broad, which leads by various ſhort turnings at right angles through the whole pile, to the principal gate that ſtands in the main rampart: for ſome ſpace on each hand of Dalton's battery, the interval between the outward and inward wall of the city was much broader than any where elſe. Captain Dalton when intruſted with the command of the garriſon, had converted that part of the gateway which projected beyond the outward wall into a ſolid battery, with embraſures; leaving the part between the two walls as it ſtood with its windings and terraſſes: an interval was likewiſe left between the backſide of the battery, and the terraſs neareſt to it, which lay parallel to each other; ſo that an enemy who had gained the battery could not

get

get to the terraſs without deſcending into the interjacent area, and then mounting the wall of the terraſs with ſcaling ladders: the battery, however, communicated with the rampart of the outward wall of the city, but being, as that was, only eighteen feet high, it was commanded by the terraſſes behind it, as well as by the rampart of the inner wall, both of which were thirty feet high. Upon one of the inward cavaliers, ſouth of the gateway, were planted two pieces of cannon, to plunge into the battery, and ſcour the interval between the two walls, as far as the terraſſes of the gateway; and two other pieces mounted in the north-weſt angle of the inward rampart, commanded in like manner both the battery and the interval to the north of the terraſſes. The French were, by De Cattans letter, and by deſerters, apprized of all theſe particulars, and notwithſtanding the many difficulties they would have to ſurmount in attempting to force their way into the town through this part of the fortifications, they preferred it to any other, becauſe it was more acceſſible from without; for a rock level with the water almoſt choaked up the ditch in front of the battery. 1753.

On the 27th of November, at night, the greateſt part of the enemy's army croſſed the river: the Myſoreans and Morattoes were diſtributed in different parties round the city, with orders to approach to the counterſcarp of the ditch, and divert the attention of the garriſon during the principal and real attack, which was reſerved for the French troops. Of this body 600 Europeans were appointed to eſcalade, whilſt Mr. Maiſſin, the commander, with the reſt of the battalion, 200 men, and a large body of Sepoys, waited at the edge of the ditch, ready to follow the firſt party as ſoon as they ſhould get into the town. At three in the morning the firſt party croſſed the rock in the ditch, and, planting their ſcaling ladders, all of them mounted the battery without giving the leaſt alarm to the garriſon: for although the guard appointed for the battery conſiſted of fifty Sepoys, with their officers, and ſome European gunners, who were all preſent and alert when the rounds paſſed at midnight, moſt of them were now abſent, and they who remained on the battery were faſt aſleep; theſe the French diſpatched with their bayonets, intending not

to

1753. to fire until they were fired upon: but this reſolution was immediately after fruſtrated by an unforeſeen accident; for ſome of them attempting to get to a ſlight counterwall which lines the backſide of the battery, fell into a deep pit, which had been left in the body of the battery itſelf, contiguous to that wall: none but the moſt tried ſoldiers can refrain from firing upon any unexpected alarm in the night, and upon the ſcreaming of thoſe who were tumbling into the hole, ſeveral muſkets were diſcharged. The French now concluding that they were diſcovered, imagined they might intimidate the garriſon by ſhewing how far they were already ſucceſsful, and turning two of the twelve pounders upon the battery againſt the town, diſcharged them together with a volley of ſmall arms, their drums beating, and their ſoldiers ſhouting their uſual military cry, "*vive le roy*". Fortunately the main guard, the barracks of the garriſon, and the quarters of the officers were in the north part of the town, not more than 400 yards from the battery. Captain Kilpatrick, who commanded, remained ſo ill of the wounds he had received in the laſt engagement, that he was unable to remove from his bed; lieutenant Harriſon, the next in command, came to him upon the alarm to receive his orders, which he gave with the uſual calmneſs that diſtinguiſhed his character on all occaſions, directing lieutenant Harriſon to march inſtantly with the picquet, reſerve, and the Sepoys that were not poſted, to the place where the attack was made, and to order the reſt of the garriſon to repair to their reſpective alarm poſts, with injunctions not to ſtir from them upon pain of death. The enemy having drawn up their ſcaling ladders into the battery, ſent two parties down from it into the interval between the two walls: one of theſe parties carrying two petards, and conducted by a deſerter, entered the paſſage which led through the terraſſes, intending to get into the town by blowing open the gate which ſtands in the inward rampart; the other party carried the ladders, and were appointed to eſcalade; whilſt the main body remained upon the battery, keeping up a conſtant fire upon the terraſſes, and upon the inward rampart. But by this time the alarm was taken, and the cannon from each hand began to fire ſmartly into the interval between the two walls, and upon the battery. Lieutenant Harriſon, with the main guard, was likewiſe arrived upon the rampart, from

from whence the greateſt part of them paſſed to the terraſſes. The muſketry of the aſſailants and defenders were now employed with great vivacity againſt each other, but with ſome uncertainty, having no other light to direct their aim except the frequent flaſhes of fire: notwithſtanding the hurry and confuſion, lieutenant Harriſon had the preſence of mind to ſtation a platoon upon the rampart, directly above the gate, ordering them to keep a conſtant fire upon the paſſage immediately below, whether they ſaw any thing or not: nothing could be more ſenſible or fortunate than this precaution; for the platoon killed, without ſeeing them, the man who was to apply the firſt petard, as well as the deſerter who conducted him, and both of them fell within ten yards of the gate. Thoſe appointed to eſcalade, fixed their ladders on the ſouth ſide of the terraſſes, and a drummer, followed by an officer, had already mounted to the top, when a party of Sepoys came to this ſtation, who killed the drummer, wounded and ſeized the officer, and then overturning the ſcaling ladders overſet the men who were upon them: the ladders broke with the fall, and the aſſailants called for more; but found that the reſt which they had brought were ſhattered and rendered uſeleſs by the grape ſhot fired from the two pieces of cannon planted upon the cavalier: they ſoon after found that the man who was to manage the ſecond petard was killed. Thus defeated in all their expectations they determined to retreat, and went up to the battery again, where the whole now reſolved to make their eſcape; but this for the want of their ladders was no longer practicable, except by leaping down eighteen feet perpendicular, either upon the rock or into the water. Deſperate as this attempt appeared near one hundred made the experiment; but what they ſuffered deterred the reſt from following their example, who, in deſpair, turned and recommenced their fire from the battery upon the defenders. Lieutenant Harriſon, with the greateſt part of his Europeans, were aſſembled upon the terraſs neareſt the battery, and the two bodies, ſeparated only by an interval of twenty feet, kept up a ſmart fire upon each other as faſt as they could load: but the defenders had the advantage of firing under the cover of parapets from a ſituation twelve feet higher than the enemy upon the battery, who were totally expoſed from head to foot, and were likewiſe taken

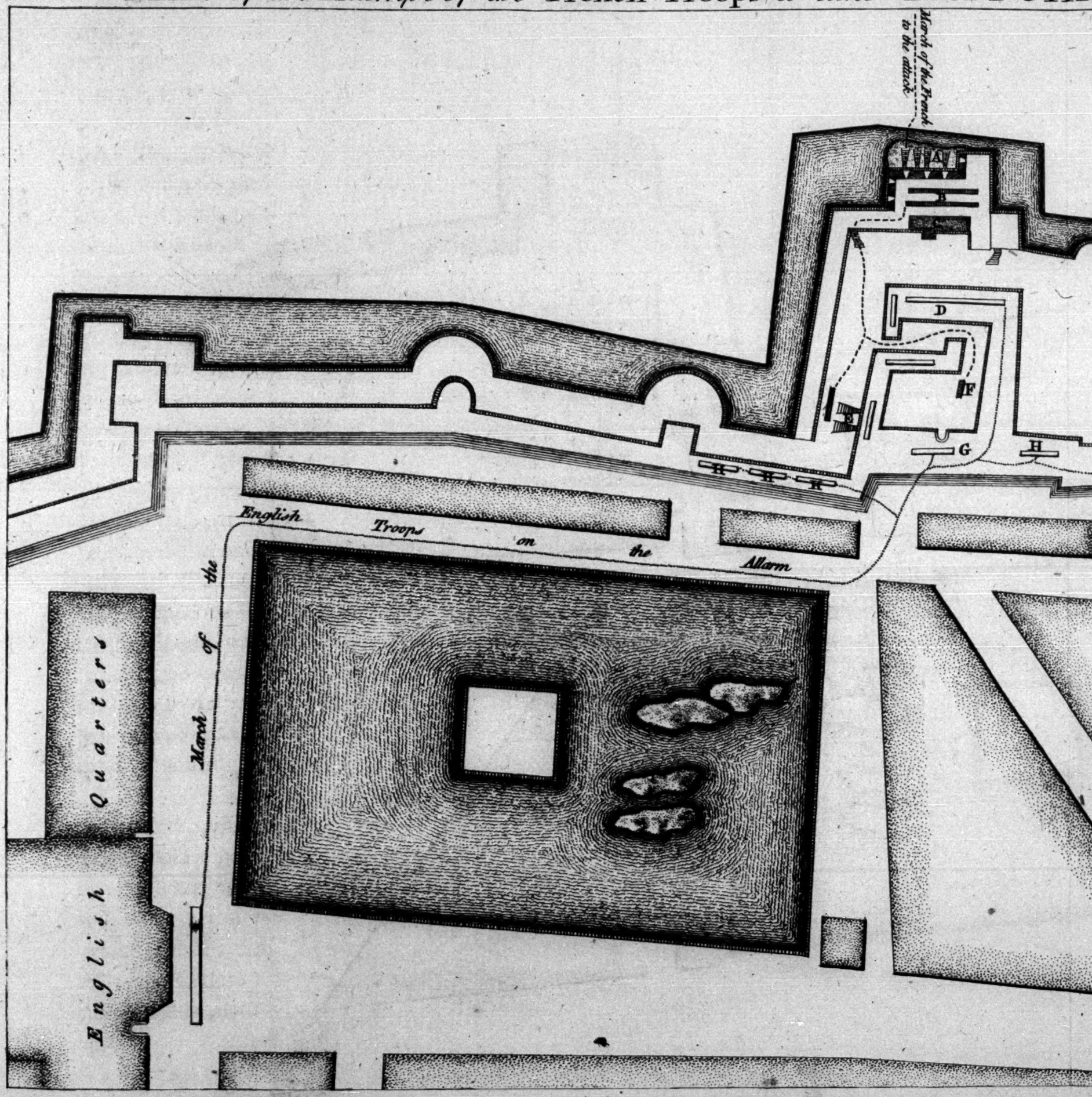
1753.

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1753. on each flank by two pieces of cannon, as well as by the fire of ſome parties of Sepoys poſted on the main rampart on each hand of the gateway. Thus galled, unable to retreat, and finding that reſiſtance ſerved only to expoſe them more, they deſiſted from firing, and every man endeavoured to ſhelter himſelf as he could; ſome in the embraſures of the battery, others behind a cavalier contiguous to it, and the reſt in the interval between the two walls; the garriſon, nevertheleſs, truſting to no appearances of ſecurity, continued to fire upon all ſuch places in which they ſuſpected them to be concealed. At length the day, long wiſhed for by both ſides, appeared; when the French, flinging down their arms, aſked for quarter, which was immediately granted. The officers from the rampart ordered them to aſſemble in the interval between the two walls, from whence they were conducted, in ſmall bodies at a time, by a party of Europeans into the city, through the gateway they had aſſaulted. Three hundred and ſixty Europeans were thus made priſoners, of which number ſixty-ſeven were wounded: thirty-ſeven were found killed upon the battery and in the reſt of the works: thoſe who eſcaped by leaping down were taken up by their own troops waiting on the outſide of the ditch; but the French themſelves confeſſed, that of the whole number, which was near one hundred, every man was much diſabled; and ſome few were killed. Thus ended this aſſault, which after expoſing the city of Tritchanopoly to the greateſt riſque it had run during the war, ended by impairing the French force more than any other event ſince the capture of Seringham: nevertheleſs we do not find that lieutenant Harriſon received any recompence for his gallant and ſenſible conduct in this hazardous and important ſervice: he died ſome time after, without being promoted from the rank in which he ſerved when he ſaved the city.

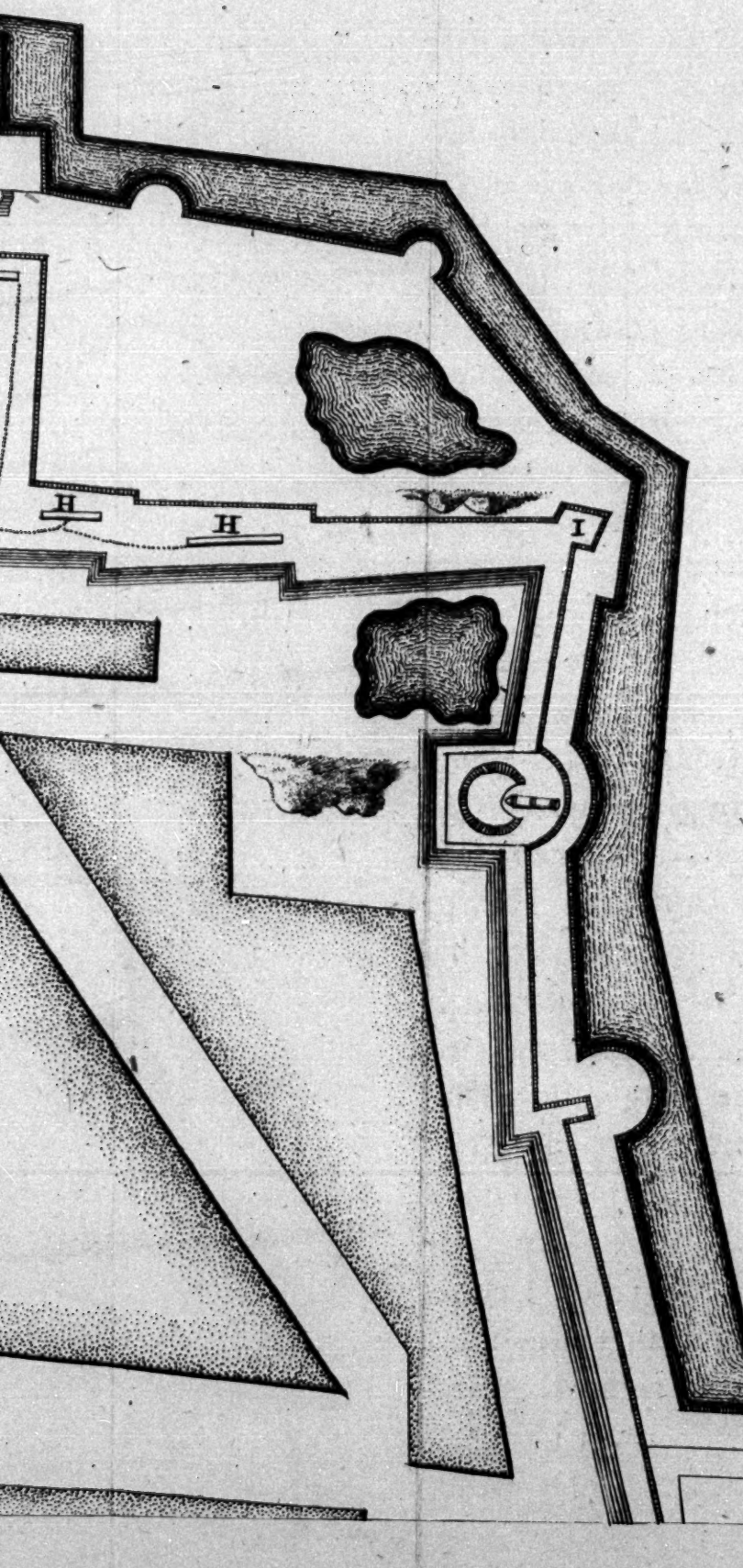
The firing was heard by the outguards at Koiladdy, where the next evening a meſſenger arrived from the city, upon which major Lawrence immediately detached a party to reinforce the garriſon, and prepared to follow with the reſt of the army, but heavy rains prevented him from arriving before the 3d of December. In the mean time the enemy on the third night after the aſſault croſſed the river again, with all the Myſore cavalry, eight thouſand men, diſmounted,

PLAN of the Attempt of the French Troops *to take* TRITCHI



1.329

T CHINAPOLY *by* Escalade *November 28 1753.*



A. *The Rock on which the Enemy planted their Ladders to Escalade the Outward Wall.*

B. *The Enemy in posſeſsion of Dalton's battery.*

C. *A pit 30 feet deep into which several of the Enemy fell in the dark.*

D. *Part of the English Garrison firing on the Enemy from the terraſs parallel to Dalton's battery.*

E. *The place where the Enemy attempted to escalade the Terraſs*

F. *A small party of the Enemy with a petard to force the inward gate.*

G. *A Platoon of English troops stationed to defend the inward gate.*

H. *English Sepoys defending the inward wall*

I. *Pascall's battery.*

Tho: Kitchin Sculpsit.

who had promiſed the regent to make a more ſucceſsful attack upon the city; but finding the garriſon alert they retreated without attempting any thing. 1753.

The king of Tanjore, who, notwithſtanding the alliance he was entering into with the French, knew nothing of their intentions to ſtorm Tritchanopoly, was not a little aſtoniſhed at the news, and the loſs which they ſuſtained in the attempt made him repent that he had ſhewn ſo much inclination to abandon the Nabob and the Engliſh: The French finding that their misfortune produced a change in the intentions which the king had began to entertain in their favour, determined to waſte no more time in negociating with him, but prepared to ſend a party of Morattoes to ravage his country. The king having intelligence of their deſign ſent a body of troops under the command of his uncle Gauderow to Tricatapoly, a fort eighteen miles eaſt of Tritchanopoly, where they were ordered to remain and puniſh the Morattoes: for this phraſe, in the vain language of the princes of Indoſtan, is ſynonimous to fighting, and is not ſeldom made uſe of even by thoſe who loſe the battle. The king making a merit of this reſolution to the Nabob, pretended that Gauderow only waited on the frontiers until the whole army was aſſembled, which would then immediately march to Tritchanopoly. Major Lawrence, willing to put the ſincerity of this profeſſion to the teſt, wrote to the king that his troops would be of little ſervice whilſt they were commanded by ſo unexperienced an officer as Gauderow, and deſired that Monack-jee might be reinſtated in the command, of which he was the only man in the kingdom capable. This commendation ſerved to confirm thoſe ſuſpicions of the general which had been raiſed in the king's mind by the artifices of his miniſter; and major Lawrence being informed of the alarm which the king had taken from his remonſtrances in Monack-jee's favour, reſolved to make no farther mention of his name, leſt the conſequences ſhould be fatal to him; but requeſted that the Tanjorine troops might join him without delay, even under the command of Gauderow. None however came; for the Morattoes having ſent a ſmall party to amuſe Gauderow, their main body of 1500 men penetrated into the kingdom at the end of De-

1753. cember by another road, and as they had threatened began to lay the country waſte with fire and ſword.

This was the firſt motion which any of the enemy's parties had made ſince the aſſault of Tritchanopoly: in the mean time ſeveral convoys were eſcorted from Tricalopoly to the Engliſh camp.

In the Carnatic the diſtricts which acknowledged the Nabob had received no moleſtation from his enemies ſince the defeat of Mahomed Comaul at Tripetti, which happened in the month of September. The troops which Mr. Dupleix was able to ſend into the field from Pondicherry had lately been employed in beſieging Palam Cotah, the ſame fort which they had refuſed to reduce for Morari-row. This place, with the circumjacent territory is the only part in the Carnatic which does not depend on the Nabob of Arcot; it belongs to the Nabob of Cudapah. Examples of ſuch ſequeſtrations occur in every province of the Mogul empire, which amongſt the reſt of its feudal inſtitutions allots to every Nabob a certain revenue ariſing from the product of lands, for his private expences: but as the baſis of the Mogul government conſiſts in regulations which deprive all its officers of any pretenſions to real eſtates, and in obliging them to acknowledge that they hold nothing by any other title than the favour of the ſovereign; the lands thus allotted to a Nabob are rarely ſituated in the province governed by himſelf, but are generally choſen in the moſt diſtant part of one of the neighbouring provinces; ſo that in this inſtitution the Mogul's authority over all his officers appears in its utmoſt majeſty; ſince the inhabitants of a province ſee the Nabob appointed to rule them, excluded from the right of appropriating to himſelf any part of the territory over which his juriſdiction, notwithſtanding, extends. Hence likewiſe a perpetual ſource of diſputes is eſtabliſhed between the Nabobs of neighbouring provinces, who never fail to give one another reaſon to complain of violence committed in theſe ſequeſtered lands. The Nabob of Cudapah applied to the preſidency of Madraſs to aſſiſt the governor of Palam Cotah, on which they ordered a detachment of thirty Europeans, and two hundred Sepoys, to march from Devi Cotah and relieve the place. The detachment did not take the field before the enemy had made a

practicable

practicable breach which they intended to ſtorm the next day: but lieutenant Frazer having concerted meaſures with the governor, contrived to introduce his party that very night, and the enemy at day break hearing Engliſh drums beating in the place, ſuſpected what had happened, and immediately raiſed the ſiege. 1753.

The END *of the* FOURTH BOOK.

BOOK V.

1753. DURING theſe tranſactions in the ſouthern parts of the Decan, events of no little importance to the intereſts of the French nation on the coaſt of Coromandel, happened at Golconda, and in the northern provinces.

The great expences which Salabad-jing incurred by the continual wars in which we have ſeen him engaged ſince his acceſſion to the Soubahſhip, prevented Mr. Dupleix from aſking of him thoſe ceſſions for the French company which were his principal object in aſſiſting him with ſo conſiderable a part of their force: he however determined to wait until the Soubah's affairs ſhould be eſtabliſhed in tranquility, and imagined that this time was come when he heard that Mr. Buſſy, ſoon after the defeat and murder of Gazi-o-din Khan, had obtained the province of Condavir adjoining to the territory of Maſulipatnam; but ſhortly after the Morattoe Balazarow appeared again with a large army in the neighbourhood of Aurungabad, declaring that he was come to demand the ceſſion of ſeveral countries to the weſtward, which had been promiſed to him by Gazi-o-din Khan, and inſiſting that his death did not invalidate the agreement ſince he was the undoubted Soubah of the Decan, when the treaty was made. Language ſo injurious to the dignity of Salabad-jing determined him to puniſh the enemy, and his army under the command of Mr. Buſſy took the field: the Morattoes, as uſual, were not able to ſtand before the French artillery; but it was not long before they retaliated tenfold the miſchief they had ſuffered by the havock they made in the adjacent countries; and Mr. Buſſy ſeeing no other means of ſoon finiſhing the war, which greatly interrupted his own projects, perſuaded Salabad-jing to make peace by giving up to the Morattoes the countries which were the occaſion of their hoſtilities: this meaſure nevertheleſs

leſs did not give him the opportunity he expected of carrying his plan into execution; on the contrary it involved him in greater difficulties for the conceſſions made to the Morattoes depriving many of Salabad-jing's officers of profitable employments, increaſed that averſion which they had for ſome time entertained againſt the French on account of the favours that had been conferred on them by Salabad-jing in prejudice, they ſaid, of themſelves, his natural ſubjects. Shanawas Khan, the firſt promoter of the diſcontent, no longer appeared at the head of the faction, but another more dangerous antagoniſt encouraged the diſaffected, and thwarted Mr. Buſſy: this was Seid Laſcar Khan, the Duan, who under Nizam-al-muluck had held the poſt of captain general of the army, in which character he likewiſe accompanied Nazir-jing into the Carnatic: from the opinion entertained of his abilities both as a ſtateſman and a ſoldier, it was believed that Nazir-jing would have eſcaped his fate if he had not deprived himſelf of the counſels of this officer, by ſending him to ſuppreſs ſome commotions at Aurungabad, ſoon after the army retired from Pondicherry to Arcot: he was at Aurungabad when Salabad-jing and Mr. Buſſy arrived there, and although he deteſted, more than any one the favours which the Soubah laviſhed upon his European allies, he diſſembled his ſentiments ſo well, that Buſſy believing him his friend, perſuaded Salabad-jing to appoint him Duan or Vizier; but as ſoon as he found himſelf well eſtabliſhed in this poſt, he threw off the maſk, and on all occaſions contradicted the inclinations of his ſovereign whenever he thought they were dictated by the influence of Mr. Buſſy. In the beginning of the year Salabad-jing determined to go to Golconda, in order to ſettle the adminiſtration of the provinces dependant on this capital: on the rout Mr. Buſſy fell ill, and took the reſolution of going to Maſulipatnam for the recovery of his health; the officer who ſucceeded him in the command of the French troops had neither the experience nor capacity neceſſary to penetrate and counteract the intrigues of a faction in a Mooriſh court. and the Duan determined not to miſs this, which appeared ſo good an opportunity, of removing the French from the preſence and counſels of Salabad-jing for ever. This was no eaſy taſk, for prejudices impreſſed on weak minds are not removed in a day, and Mr. Buſſy had perſuaded

1753.

Salabad-jing,

1753. Salabad-jing, a prince deficient both in perſonal courage and ſagacity, that the French battalion were not only the principal ſupport of his government againſt foreign enemies; but alſo the beſt ſecurity of his perſon and dignity againſt inteſtine plots and commotions. The Duan therefore found it neceſſary to accuſtom him by degrees to the abſence of theſe favourite troops; it was equally neceſſary to prevent them from entertaining any ſuſpicion of this deſign, for they were too formidable to be removed by violence; Mr. Buſſy having joined to the battalion of Europeans a body of 5000 Sepoys, who acted entirely under his own orders. The Duan therefore neglected for ſome time to furniſh their pay at the uſual periods, pretending that the treaſury had been diſappointed in the receipt of conſiderable revenues due from ſome diſtricts at a diſtance from the capital: and when the French, as he expected, complained of the diſtreſs to which they were reduced for want of pay, he told them that he knew no other method of ſatisfying their demands but by ſending them to collect the Soubah's revenues from thoſe who withheld them: this the French officers very readily agreed to, expecting from the cuſtom of Indoſtan that they ſhould receive conſiderable preſents, beſides the ſums that they were charged to levy. Still it would have been difficult to have obtained Salabad-jing's conſent for their departure, had not their own miſconduct convinced him that it was neceſſary for the peace of the city, where, ſince Mr. Buſſy had left the command, the diſcipline to which he had accuſtomed them was ſo much relaxed, that they daily committed diſorders, for which the perſons aggrieved were continually demanding juſtice at the gates of the palace.

As ſoon as he had thus removed the greateſt part of the French troops, he invented ſome pretext to perſuade Salabad-jing that it was neceſſary he ſhould return, without delay, to Aurungabad, and even prevailed on him to order no more than a ſmall detachment of their Europeans and Sepoys to accompany his army. He then inſtructed the governor of Golconda to furniſh no pay to thoſe who remained in the city, and to diſtreſs them by every other means, excepting open hoſtilities; and the ſame orders were given in the countries to which the ſeveral detachments had been ſent to collect their arrears. This treatment, ſo different from what the French had hitherto received, he thought would

lead them of their own accord to aſk their diſmiſſion from a ſervice in which they found that nothing more was to be got. This ſcheme would without doubt have ſucceeded, had not Mr. Buſſy recovered from his illneſs, who, alarmed by the unexpected danger which threatened the intereſts of his nation in the Decan, quitted Maſulipatnam, aſſembled the troops which had been detached to ſeek their ſubſiſtence, and then marched at their head to Golconda, where they arrived in the middle of May. Their appearance, for they were 400 Europeans, and 3000 Sepoys, diſconcerted at once all the projects of the governor, and he conſented, without heſitation, to furniſh a large ſum of money in part of the arrears which the Duan had with ſo much artifice withheld from them. 1753.

The Morattoes, with whom treaties are ſcarcely a ceſſation of hoſtilities, being apprized of Seid Laſcar Khan's intentions to get rid of the French troops, determined to avail themſelves of the inſtant of their departure, whenever it ſhould happen, to wreſt more territories from Salabad-jing; and a few days after the return of Mr. Buſſy to Golconda, two of their armies appeared in the neighbourhood of the city. One of them was commanded by Balazarow, the other by Ragogi Bonſala, the ſame general who in the year 1740, invaded the province of Arcot. Mr. Buſſy immediately put himſelf at the head of the troops belonging to the government, and with theſe and his own met the enemy in the field. The Morattoes having commenced hoſtilities ſolely from a reliance that they ſhould not be oppoſed by the French troops who had ſo often beat them, determined to relinquiſh the proſecution of their deſign, and made overtures of accommodation, which concluded in a treaty, confirming thoſe which had been made before, and reſtoring the places which they had taken poſſeſſion of in this incurſion. This ſervice recalled the wavering attachment of Salabad-jing to his European allies, and Mr. Buſſy, to take advantage of the favourable impreſſion it had made on his mind, marched away to Aurungabad, where Salabad-jing received him with the greateſt cordiality, and his enemies confounded at this change, altered their conduct likewiſe, and affected to outvie one another in expreſſions of gratitude and reſpect to him; inſomuch that the Duan ſent him the ſeals of his office, with a compliment

that

1753. that he only was worthy to hold them. Mr. Buſſy with equal diſſimulation, returned the ſeals, with the ſame compliment to the Duan; the next day he repreſented in full council that the pay of the French troops would be a perpetual ſubject of ſuſpicions and dangerous diſputes, unleſs it was aſcertained upon funds independant of the controul of any of the miniſters, and then propoſed that the provinces of Muſtaphanagar, Yalore, Rajamundrum, and Chickacole ſhould be given up to the French company in full ſovereignty, ſubject nevertheleſs to this condition, that they ſhould conſtantly maintain a body of European troops in the ſervice of the Soubah, in the ſame manner as other fuedatories to the Mogul government. Salabad-jing had been prepared to receive this propoſal with complacence, but his miniſters oppoſed it with ſo many objections, that Mr. Buſſy finding it impoſſible to gain their conſent, whilſt the Duan Seid Leſkar Khan preſided at the council, inſiſted and prevailed with Salabad-jing to remove him and ſubſtitute Shanavas Khan in his place, who, warned by the fate of his predeceſſor, acquieſced to Mr. Buſſy's demand; and the patents were made out and delivered to him.

This acquiſition, added to Maſulipatnam, and the province of Condavir, which the French had already obtained, rendered them maſters of the ſea-coaſt of Coromandel and Orixa in an uninterrupted line of 600 miles from Medapilly to the pagoda of Jagernaut. Theſe countries are bounded by a vaſt chain of mountains which run nearly in the ſame direction as the ſea-coaſt, and are in moſt places about eighty or ninety miles diſtant from it, although in ſome few not more than thirty. They are covered with impenetrable foreſts of bamboes, and in their whole extent there are no more than three or four paſſes, which according to Mr. Buſſy's account may be defended by 100 men againſt an army. The province of Condavir extends between the river Kriſtna and Gondegam, which gains the ſea at Medapilly; the limits of the other four provinces are not exactly aſcertained; nevertheleſs it appears that Muſtaphanagar joins to the north of Condavir; that Yalore lays to the northweſt of Muſtaphanagar: that Rajamundrum is bounded to the ſouth by theſe two provinces and that Chickacole much the largeſt of the four, extends 250 miles from the river Godaveri to the pagoda of Jagernaut.

naut. The revenues of the four provinces were computed at 3,100,000 rupees; of Condavir, at 680,000, and the dependencies of Maſulipatnam were ſo much improved that they produced this year 507,000; in all 4,287,000 rupees, equal to more than 535,000 pounds ſterling: all theſe rents, excepting thoſe of Maſulipatnam and its dependencies which ſeemed already to have been carried to the height, might be greatly improved. So that theſe territories rendered the French maſters of the greateſt dominion, both in extent and value, that had ever been poſſeſſed in Indoſtan by Europeans, not excepting the Portugueze, when at the height of their proſperity. Nor were commercial advantages wanting to enhance the value of theſe acquiſitions, for the manufactures of cloth proper for the European markets are made in this part of the Decan, of much better fabric, and at much cheaper rates than in the Carnatic: in Rajahmundrum are large foreſts of teak trees, and it is the only part of the coaſt of Coromandel and Orixa that furniſhes this wood, which is equal in every reſpect to oak; Chickacole abounds in rice and other grain, of which great quantities are exported every year to the Carnatic. 1753.

Although it was intended that the French ſhould not hold theſe countries any longer than they maintained the ſtipulated number of troops in the Soubah's ſervice, yet it is evident that he could not have given them an eſtabliſhment in any part of his dominions, from which it would be ſo difficult to expel them in caſe they neglected to fulfil their obligation: for, defended on one hand by the chain of mountains, and having on the other all the reſources of the ſea open, they might with impunity defy the united force of the Decan: this the Duan Seid Laſcar Khan knew, and dreaded ſo much, that he offered Mr. Buſſy a much larger tract of country in the inland parts of the Soubahſhip, provided he would deſiſt from demanding theſe provinces. It was not before the end of the year that the patents were made out and delivered, when Mr. Buſſy, foreſeeing that his own preſence would be neceſſary to eſtabliſh the French authority in their new governments, prevailed on Salabad-jing to march with him to Golconda. Since the treaty made with the Morattoes in the beginning of the year, Salabad-jing's government had not been diſturbed by foreign enemies, and the news received

1753. at this time from Delhi diſſipated whatever apprehenſions he might entertain of being moleſted by his nephew Sche-abeddin.

The Mogul Hamed Schah, notwithſtanding the appearance of vigour with which he aſcended the throne in 1748, ſoon fell into the ſame indolence which had characterized all the ſucceſſors of Aurungzebe. His miniſter Sche-abeddin, after the example of his grandfather Nizam-almuluck, endeavoured to rouſe him from his lethargy, and reform his court; but his repreſentations only ſerved to render him obnoxious to his ſovereign. The Rajpoots, to the ſouth-weſt of Delhi, encouraged by the imbecility of the monarch, made an attempt to recover ſeveral countries which had formerly belonged to their nation. Sche-abeddin marched againſt them, and was victorious; but during his abſence his enemies formed a plot to deſtroy him, and prevailed on the Mogul to take a part in it. He marched out of Delhi at the head of 25000 men to meet Sche-abeddin, under pretence of doing him honour for the ſervice he had rendered, and the blow was to be ſtruck at the interview. Sche-abeddin received early intelligence of this deſign, and not thinking it prudent to truſt his ſafety to the Mogul's troops under his command, hired a body of 30,000 Morattoes, with whom he marched towards the capital. His enemies finding their ſchemes diſcovered, were terrified, and in order to appeaſe his reſentment left the unfortunate monarch expoſed to the danger in which their own counſels had involved him; every one of the principal officers diſbanded the troops he commanded, leaving their ſovereign almoſt without attendants, who, thus deſerted, haſtened back to Delhi. Sche-abeddin followed him, and entering the city without reſiſtance, went immediately to the palace, accompanied by a ſtrong guard: the Mogul, not ſuſpecting any violence, received him in the durbar, or uſual place of audience, where after ſome converſation Sche-abeddin ordered him to be ſeized and impriſoned; after which he aſſembled the omrahs or principal officers of the government, and placed on the throne Allumgeer, a near relation to the depoſed monarch, who, according to the cruel policy of this country, was deprived of his ſight, by paſſing a red hot iron before his eyes. He then declared himſelf vizier to the new Mogul, whom he ſuffered to interfere very little in the adminiſtration; and finding that great diſorders had been introduced

troduced in the provinces near the capital, he determined to reform theſe before he extended his views farther. In this reſolution he diſſembled his reſentment againſt Salabad-jing for the murder of his father, and pretended to be well ſatisfied that the Soubahſhip of the Decan ſhould remain under the government of a prince ſo nearly related to him. 1753.

The Engliſh themſelves could not refrain from admiring the ſagacity of Mr. Dupleix's conduct, which, by making the war in the Carnatic ſubſervient to his views on the northern provinces, had by degrees led his nation to the great eſtabliſhments of which they were now in poſſeſſion. At the ſame time they had the ſatisfaction to know that theſe ſucceſſes of their enemies could not be imputed to any defects in their own conduct; for ſo far from having a force ſufficient to make head againſt the French in two parts of the country ſo diſtant from each other as Golconda and Tritchanopoly; their whole force collected was always much inferior to what the French were able to oppoſe to them in the ſouthern parts of the decan, where nothing but efforts of valour, ſcarcely to be paralleled, had carried them through the two wars of Chundaſaheb and the Myſoreans. It was equally fortunate for the nation that chance ſhould have placed during theſe arduous times, a man of much ſagacity, indefatigable application, and a perſeverance equal to Dupleix's, at the head of the preſidency; ſuch was Mr. Saunders, who came to the government a little before the death of Nazir-jing, and convinced by that event of the ambitious ſchemes of Mr. Dupleix, determined to oppoſe them to the utmoſt of his ſtrength, notwithſtanding he had no inſtructions from the company to engage in hoſtilities; and notwithſtanding the two nations were at peace in Europe, he had with the ſame ſpirit continued the war, never diſcouraged by adverſe turns, nor dreading the event of deſperate attempts when neceſſary to retrieve them. The two governors had during the whole courſe of hoſtilities carried on a ſharp and acute controverſy by letters; and Mr. Dupleix, as ſoon as he found Mr. Buſſy likely to obtain the great object of his views to the northward, affected to ſhew an inclination to terminate the war in the Carnatic. This overture however was followed by ſo many diſcuſſions, that it was not before the beginning of the year 1754 that he conſented to treat in form, when it was

1753. agreed that a conference ſhould be held in the town of Sadras, belonging to the Dutch, on the road between Madraſs and Pondicherry.

1754. The deputies, on the ſide of the Engliſh, were Mr. Palk and Mr. Vanſittart: on the French, the father Lavaur, ſuperior of the French Jeſuits in India; Mr. Kirjean, nephew to Mr. Dupleix; and Mr. Bauſſet a member of the council of Pondicherry. They met on the 3d of January; the two governors ſuperintending and directing their proceedings by letters, which were no more than twelve hours in coming from Pondicherry, and only ſix from Madraſs. The Engliſh deputies opened the conference by propoſing as the baſis of the negotiation, that Mahomed-ally ſhould be acknowledged Nabob of the Carnatic, with the ſame authority as had ever been poſſeſſed by any former Nabob; and that the king of Tanjore ſhould be guaranteed in the peaceable poſſeſſion of his kingdom. The French then produced their ideas of a baſis, and the whole of their terms together: their baſis implied the acknowledgment of Salabad-jing as Soubah of the Decan, and the immediate releaſe of the French priſoners taken during the war: the Engliſh, in return for their acquieſcence to theſe two articles, were to be exempted from the ground rent of Madraſs, a ſmall fine formerly paid to the government of Arcot; they were to keep poſſeſſion of the country of Ponamalee; and ſome eſtabliſhment was to be made for Mahomed-ally after his difference with the Myſorean concerning Tritchanopoly was conciliated. It was impoſſible to have made propoſals more directly oppoſite; for by acknowledging Salabad-jing without reſtrictions, the French would become arbiters of the fate of the Engliſh in the Carnatic, as they would of the French, if Mahomed-ally was acknowledged: ſo that each ſide required of the other to give up every thing before they had well begun to treat of any thing. However the buſineſs did not ſtop, and the French deputies produced ſeven patents, which they called their authorities for interfering as they had done, in the affairs of the Mogul government, and for making the preſent demands: two of theſe were patents from Murzafa-jing; one appointing Mr. Dupleix commander in all the countries from the river Kriſtna to the ſea; the other Chundaſaheb governor of the Carnatic: four were from Salabad-jing; two confirming the two foregoing; another giving the countries of Arcot and Tritchanopoly

to Mr. Dupleix after the death of Chundasaheb; the other appointing Mortiz-ally of Velore lieutenant under Mr. Dupleix in these countries: the seventh and last piece, which the French called the most authentic, was a letter from the great Mogul, confirming all that Salabad-jing had done in favour of Mr. Dupleix and his allies. The French deputies then asked what titles the English had to produce; who replied that they consisted of patents from Nazir-jing, Gazi-o-din Khan, and the Great Mogul, appointing Mahomed-ally Nabob of the Carnatic: here again was a flat contradiction, and of such a nature as could not be adjusted without sending the deputies to Delhi. The French, notwithstanding, insisted that the titles should be examined; and being told that the Nabob's were at Tritchanopoly, desired that they might be immediately sent for; nevertheless they in the mean time delivered copies of their own to be scrutinized by the English deputies. But Mr. Saunders, convinced that this examination would multiply discussions, without removing any of the suspicions and objections which prevailed with both sides on the validity of the adversary's titles, came close to the point, and ordered his deputies to propose that the English and French should be put in possession of lands of equal value in such different parts of the province as might prevent future disputes; that the commerce of the two companies in the Carnatic should be established on equal terms of advantage; that security should be given to the Mysoreans for such a sum of money as upon an equitable adjustment of their account might appear to be due to them; that a pension should be assigned to Rajasaheb, the son of Chundasaheb; and that the French prisoners should be released; provided Mr. Dupleix would acknowledge Mahomed-ally Nabob of the Carnatic. These proposals left the French superior by the whole of their possessions to the northward, which were of much greater value than what the English would have been content to take subject to an equality with them in the Carnatic: a moderation which would have been inconsistent with the continual success of the English arms, if the expences of the war had not already greatly hurt the commercial interests of the East-India company, restrained by their charter from enlarging their capital. The acknowledgment of Mahomed-ally appeared the only difficulty in Mr. Saunders's proposal; but even this might be removed by the English

1754.

1754. gliſh acknowledging Salabad-jing, on condition that he would confirm Mahomed-ally in the Nabobſhip; and that the French would likewiſe agree to concur equally with the Engliſh in ſupporting this prince in his government. But Mr. Dupleix was ſo intoxicated by his connexions with Salabad-jing, and his notions of his own authority in the Carnatic, that he rejected Mr. Saunders's propoſal with diſdain. It was now no longer poſſible to miſtake his views, or to doubt that he had any other intention than to leave the Engliſh in poſſeſſion of a fortieth part of the territories dependant on Arcot, on condition that they would tamely ſuffer him to keep and govern all the reſt with abſolute ſovereignty. Big with theſe ideas he ordered his deputies to inſiſt ſtrenuouſly on the validity of his titles: and whilſt they were explaining the various events which had led their nation to the acquiſition of ſuch important prerogatives, the Engliſh deputies diſcovered that the Mogul's letter to Mr. Dupleix wanted the uſual ſignature, which is a ſeal engraved with his name and titles, and ſtamped with ink at the head of the patent. They likewiſe obſerved that the ſeal impreſſed on the wax which had ſecured the cover of the letter, appeared by the date to be thirty-three years old, and conſequently belonged to a former emperor. Theſe defects naturally gave them many ſuſpicions, which were much confirmed; when, on deſiring an explanation from the French deputies, they immediately recalled all their papers, giving for a reaſon that they would not ſubmit them to any farther examination before the Nabob's patents were produced. This in reality was no reaſon at all; they, however, conſulted Mr. Dupleix on the objections made to the Mogul's letter, who replied, that the piece he had delivered to them was only a duplicate, to which the writer in the ſecretary's office at Delhi might have thought it needleſs to affix the ſeal of ſignature, and that with the ſame negligence the firſt ſeal which came to hand might have been taken up by him to ſeal the cover; but that the original brought by the Mogul's officer deputed from Delhi, had the ſeal of ſignature affixed to it, which was dated in the firſt year of the reign of the late emperor Hamed Schah; and that the letter itſelf was dated in the fifth year of his reign, the ſame in which it was received. It now became neceſſary to examine the original, and to enquire whether it was the cuſtom in the ſecretary's office at Delhi

to

to pay ſo little attention to duplicates: but Mr. Saunders and the Engliſh deputies thought that what they had already ſeen and heard was a ſufficient proof that the copy was a forgery, and concluded the ſame of the original and the reſt of the French papers: the French deputies nevertheleſs perſiſted to defend the authenticity of them; and leaſt the abrupt manner in which they had withdrawn them from farther examination ſhould be interpreted as a proof that they themſelves knew their pieces could not ſtand the teſt, they now gave another reaſon for this part of their conduct, alledging that they had recalled them only for fear copies ſhould be taken in order to direct Mahomed-ally in making out thoſe patents he had promiſed to produce. This blundering apology expoſed their cauſe more than any remarks which their adverſaries had hitherto made; for it was a tacit acknowledgment that they themſelves were convinced of the poſſibility of forging patents with ſo much dexterity that the artifice could not be detected. It might have been aſked by what means they arrived at this conviction, and the Engliſh deputies might have added, as the natural conſequences of this principle laid down by their adverſaries, that if Mahomed-ally could avail himſelf of ſuch arts, Mr. Dupleix might have made uſe of them likewiſe: this argument, however, was not produced, either becauſe it did not occur, or becauſe it would have exploded the pretenſions ariſing from patents on both ſides: but this the Engliſh ought to have wiſhed, ſince it would have reduced the conference to a plan of equality, which would give them a right to demand an equal ſhare of the countries to the northward, or to inſiſt that the French ſhould relinquiſh them; after which the Engliſh might have conſented to recede from this demand, on condition that Mr. Dupleix ſhould acknowledge Mahomed-ally in the Carnatic: but arguments have very little influence in treaties, and both ſides had already made uſe of ſuch ſharp invectives on the conduct of their adverſaries during the war, that it was manifeſt neither had any hopes of bringing about a reconciliation. Thus the conference broke up on the eleventh day after it began, leaving both ſides more exaſperated than ever. 1754.

In the mean while hoſtilities did not ceaſe. The body of 1200 Morattoes, who had ſlipped by Gauderow, puſhed through the kingdom of Tanjore,

1754. Tanjore, even to the ſea coaſt; plundering and burning the villages, deſtroying the grain, and driving off the cattle: the conſternation and miſchief which they ſpread through the country, convinced the king of his imprudence in having ſet ſo little value on the alliance of the Engliſh, as well as on the abilities of his general Monack-jee; and with the uſual ſuppleneſs of weak minds when involved in dangerous circumſtances, he now ſtrenuouſly ſollicited major Lawrence to march to his relief; and reinſtated Monack-jee in the command of the army. The violent rains had ſwelled the rivers and rendered the roads ſo bad that it was impoſſible for the Engliſh to march into his country; but Monack-jee went in queſt of the enemy without delay at the head of 3000 horſe. The Morattoes, ignorant of the country, had imprudently got between two branches of the Coleroon near the ſea, and a ſudden flood ſwelled both the channels ſo much that they were incloſed in an iſland from which they could not get out again before the waters ſubſided. Whilſt they were waiting for this at the head of the iſland, Monack-jee marched and encamped to the eaſtward of them, near a paſs which he knew would be fordable ſooner than any other part of the two arms by which they were encloſed; and the inſtant that the waters were ſufficiently fallen, croſſed over, and coming upon them by ſurprize, attacked them in the angle of the iſland, where it was ſo narrow that his troops extended from one arm to the other in their front. The Morattoes, thus pent up, ſeeing no other means to eſcape but by cutting their way through the Tanjorines, exerted themſelves with their uſual bravery augmented by deſpair: but on the other hand, the Tanjorines were inflamed by the deſire of revenging the injuries their country had ſuffered from theſe cruel freebooters, and Monack-jee, ſenſible that the continuance of his maſter's uncertain favour would depend on the ſucceſs of this day, animated his troops, who loved him, by his own example; fighting in the thickeſt throng with the utmoſt intrepidity. Valour on both ſides being thus equal, the ſuperiority of numbers decided the victory: 800 of the Morattoes were killed, and moſt of the reſt were wounded and taken priſoners. To deter them from invading his country in future, Monack-jee ordered all the dead bodies to be hanged upon trees; and all the priſoners, not excepting thoſe who were wounded, to be

be impaled alive in ſight of the high roads. Having thus diſgraced his victory by this ſhocking cruelty, he returned with the horſes of the ſlain in triumph to Tanjore. The Engliſh hoped that this ſucceſs would induce the king to ſend his troops to join them; and the victorious general expected that the ſervice he had rendered would confirm him in his maſter's favour: but both were diſappointed; for the envy of the miniſter Succo-jee increaſing with the merit of his rival, he perſuaded the king that there was no longer any neceſſity to be at the expence of keeping his troops in pay, ſince the ſevere blow which the Morattoes had received would doubtleſs deter them from making another incurſion into his country. The king therefore, after complimenting Monack-jee on his ſucceſs, told him there was no farther occaſion for his ſervice, and diſbanded his army. 1754.

The number of French priſoners in Tritchanopoly, obliged major Lawrence to augment the garriſon to 300 Europeans, and 1500 Sepoys; 150 of the battalion likewiſe remained ſick in the hoſpital; ſo that the whole force with which he kept the field was no more than 600 Europeans, including the artillery men, and 1800 Sepoys; the French battalion, reinforced in December with 200 men, was now equal to the Engliſh, and they had moreover four companies of Topaſſes, each of 100 men, diſtinct from their battalion; they had alſo 6000 Sepoys, and the Myſoreans and Morattoes remained as before, with little alteration in their numbers. Notwithſtanding this ſuperiority, the enemy did not venture to quit the iſland and encamp to the ſouth of the Caveri.

The plain of Tritchanopoly having been ſo long the ſeat of war, ſcarce a tree was left ſtanding for ſeveral miles round the city; and the Engliſh detachments were obliged to march five or ſix miles to get firewood. Their proviſions came chiefly from the Tanjore country; but the merchants would not venture nearer than Tricatapolly, a fort eighteen miles eaſt of Tritchanopoly, from whence, when a ſufficient quantity was collected, they were eſcorted to the camp. What came from Tondeman's country was brought at appointed times to the ſkirts of his woods, within ſix or ſeven miles of the camp. The detachments ſent on theſe ſervices were ſeldom leſs than 150 Europeans, and 500 Sepoys, a force which the enemy's cavalry unſupported by Europeans

1754. were always afraid to attack; and ſeven convoys were ſafely eſcorted from the beginning of January to the middle of February; at which time a convoy was in readineſs, much larger than any of the former, for it conſiſted of a great quantity of military ſtores, as well as proviſions, the carriage of which required no leſs than 3000 oxen: the eſcort was therefore made ſtronger than uſual, being compoſed of the grenadier company of 100 men, 80 other Europeans, 800 Sepoys, and 4 pieces of cannon; this force, although more than one third of the army, was ſcarcely adequate to the convoy; and, what was ſtill more unfortunate, the command of the party fell, by the rotation of military duty, to an officer of little experience, and leſs ability: however, as the enemy had lately exerted themſelves ſo little, little danger was apprehended; and it was imagined that a party of Tanjorine horſe which lay encamped at Cootaparah, five miles north-eaſt of Elimiſerum, would join the eſcort upon any emergency: but theſe, whether inadvertently, or from a malicious deſign of avoiding the ſervice expected from them, quitted their poſt the 12th of February, the very day that the eſcort marched; which, however, arrived without interruption at Tricatapolly in the evening, from whence they ſet out with the convoy the next day, and gained Kelly Cotah, where they paſſed the night: this fort is ſituated about five miles to the eaſt of Cootaparah, and the road between theſe two places lays through the ſkirts of Tondeman's woods. The enemy at Seringham receiving intelligence that the party were returning, determined to meet them with a ſufficient force; 12000 horſe, Morattoes and Myſoreans, 6000 Sepoys, 400 Europeans, with ſeven pieces of cannon, croſſed the river in the night, and poſted themſelves a little to the eaſt of Cootaparah. The convoy continuing their march at day break the 15th, advanced two miles from Kelly Cotah without any ſuſpicion of danger; when they diſcovered at a diſtance ſeveral bodies of cavalry moving on all ſides amongſt the thickets and underwood. The commanding officer nevertheleſs made no change in his diſpoſition, which happened to be the very worſt that could have been imagined; for he had diſtributed the troops in ſmall bodies along each ſide of the line of bullocks and carts, and even in the front and rear kept no more than a ſingle platoon. The Morattoes were commanded by Morari-row

and

and Innis Khan, who ſoon diſcovered the weakneſs of this order of march, and reſolved to take advantage of it without waiting for the French troops. On a ſudden all the different bodies of cavalry which ſurrounded the convoy ſet up a ſhout in concert, and galloping up at full ſpeed charged every part of the line almoſt in the ſame inſtant; ſome puſhing on to the intervals which ſeparated the different platoons, and then falling on their flanks, whilſt others attacked them in front. The onſet was ſo ſudden and impetuous that few of the Engliſh troops had time to give more than a ſingle diſcharge, after which what reſiſtance they made was all pell-mell, and in confuſion, every man truſting only to himſelf, and reſolving to ſell his life as dear as poſſible. Moſt of the Sepoys flung down their arms and fled at the beginning of the onſet. The bullocks terrified by the tumult, increaſed it by puſhing on all ſides to get away, ſometimes againſt the enemy, ſometimes upon the eſcort. The fight however continued until the French troops came up, who obliging the Morattoes, much againſt their will, to ſheath their ſwords, offered quarter, which was accepted: 138 ſoldiers were made priſoners, and of theſe 100 were wounded, 50 were killed on the ſpot: of eight officers five were killed, and the other three were wounded; amongſt them the commanding officer, mortally. Lieutenant Revel, the ſame who ſerved at the defence of Arcot, commanded the artillery in this action: this brave man ſeeing the day loſt, and the enemy on the point of getting poſſeſſion of the cannon, ſuffered himſelf to be cut down without making reſiſtance, rather than quit the work in which he was employed, of ſpiking up one of the field pieces. The garriſon of Elimiſerum, as ſoon as they heard the firing, marched to ſecure the village of Cootaparah, that the convoy might take poſt in it: but all was loſt before they arrived there. 1754.

This was by far the ſevereſt blow which the Engliſh troops had ſuffered during the courſe of the war; it took off one third of the battalion, but what rendered the misfortune irreparable, was the loſs of that gallant company of grenadiers, whoſe courage on every occaſion we have ſeen deciding the victory, and who may be ſaid, without exaggeration, to have rendered more ſervice than the ſame number of troops belonging to any nation in any part of the world. The whole convoy, proviſions, military ſtores, and 7000 pounds in money, fell into the enemy's

1754. hands, who returned with their booty and their priſoners to the iſland. They ſoon after ſet the Sepoys at liberty, who returned to the Engliſh camp; and they permitted the two ſurviving Engliſh officers to depart on their parole, which was taken in the name of Salabad-jing.

The preſidency of Madraſs, as ſoon as they heard of this misfortune, ſent a detachment of 180 men, under the command of captain Pigou, to Devi Cottah, by ſea; and about the ſame time hopes were entertained of reinforcing the army with a body of cavalry, which had lately arrived to Arcot, under the command of Maphuze Khan, the Nabob's elder brother. This man, taken priſoner when his father was killed at the battle of Amour, was carried by Chundaſaheb to Pondicherry, where he remained until Nazir-jing came into the province, when Mr. Dupleix at the requeſt of this prince releaſed him. On Nazir-jing's death he ſeemed inclinable to follow the fortunes of Murzafa-jing, with whom he went out of the Carnatic; but after his death retired to Cudapah, where he had remained until he took it into his head to come back to the Carnatic with 2000 horſe, and as many Peans, to ſerve, as he ſaid, the Nabob his brother. He nevertheleſs on his arrival at Arcot declared he could proceed no farther without receiving a ſum of money to ſatisfy his troops: this his brother Abdul-wahab promiſed to ſupply, upon which it was expected that he would march immediately to Tritchanopoly. The experience of the late diſaſter convinced major Lawrence that the party at Devi Cottah was not ſtrong enough to march to the camp, and dreading to leave the city expoſed to another aſſault by moving to join them, he ordered them to wait at Devi Cottah until Maphuze Khan came up, and determined in the mean time to maintain his ground on the plain, notwithſtanding he had only 400 Europeans in the field. The ſmallneſs of this number rendered it impoſſible to bring proviſions from ſuch a diſtance as the Tanjore country, and indeed the king, not doubting but that the late defeat of the eſcort would oblige the Engliſh to retire from Tritchanopoly, diſcouraged his merchants from ſupplying them any longer. Tondeman's country therefore remaining the only reſource: a party of 300 Sepoys were detached with orders to collect them in Killanore, a village in the woods about twelve miles from the city. The detachments of Europeans employed to eſcort them

A MAP
of the
COUNTRY
extending Ten Miles to the West,
and Eighteen to the East
of
TRITCHINAPOLY.

Road to Turyoor

Pitchandah

Lalguddy

Outernach

Coleroon River

Seringham Pagoda

SERINGHAM

Jumbakistna Pagoda

Allour

Mourungapeta

Pallour

Amankoidi

Trecheantura

Anale

Codealum

Cavery River

Mootachellinoor

Cavery River

Chuklerpollam

Dalaway's Choultrey

Martandcourche

Maoor

Pandamangulu

Byaloor

Kolmany

Pogeloor

Peseveram

Malecoramboor

Weycondah

Warriore

TRITCHINAPOLY

French Rock

Jagiore

Alavatoro

Cope

Shatrech

Aletore

Alladory

Facquires Tope

Golden Rock

Sugar loaf Rock

The Five Rocks

Elimiser

1-348

Samiavaram

Scale of Miles.

1/4 1/4 1/4 1 2 3 4 5 6

Munfurpett
Village and Pagoda

M I S L A N D

River

Dalaway's Choultrey

Doolore

Coore

Coleroon River

Koiladdy

Cavery River

Killycottah

Coutapara

Tricatapolly

Vadau-arru River

Elimiserum

T O N D E M A N S

W O O D

Tho.s Kitchin Sculpsit.

them were not permitted to move farther than five miles from the camp, at which diſtance they halted and ſent forward a detachment of Sepoys, who met the proviſions, eſcorted by the party of Sepoys from Killanore, at the ſkirts of the wood, and returned with them from thence to the poſt where the Europeans were halting. In this ſervice they were much aſſiſted by the activity and vigilance of Mahomed Iſſouf, an excellent partizan, whoſe merit had raiſed him from a captain of a company, to be commander in chief of all the Sepoys in the Engliſh ſervice, into which he firſt inliſted under captain Clive, a little before the battle of Covrepauk: he was a brave and reſolute man, but cool and wary in action, and capable of ſtratagem; he conſtantly procured intelligence of the enemy's motions, and having a perfect knowledge of the country, planned the marches of the convoys ſo well, that by conſtantly changing the roads, and the times of bringing the proviſions out of the woods, not one of them was intercepted for three months. The enemy, however, getting intelligence that the magazines were kept at Killanore, ſent, in the end of March, a party to attack that place; but they were repulſed by the Sepoys ſtationed there. About the ſame time the regent detached 1000 horſe, and 1000 Sepoys, with ſome pieces of cannon, to his own country, which the Morattoe Balazarow had entered, and was plundering: but ſoon after he received a reinforcement of 2000 Morattoes, under the command of Morari-row's brother, which more than compenſated the draught he had made from his army: even this reinforcement did not tempt the enemy to quit the iſland, and encamp on the plain, although it was evident that this meaſure would inevitably oblige the Engliſh either to retire or bring on a general action. In the mean time the Engliſh camp, although not diſtreſſed for proviſions, had little hopes of receiving any reinforcements to enable them to ſtand their ground if the enemy ſhould take this ſtep; for the detachment at Devi Cottah could not prudently move until they were joined by Maphuze Khan, who cavilling with his brother about the pay of his troops, had got no farther than Conjevaram, and ſhewed no inclination to proceed before his demands were ſatisfied. Major Lawrence therefore, as the only reſource, repreſented to the preſidency the neceſſity of endeavouring to recover the king of Tanjore to the Nabob's

1754.

1754. bob's intereſt, and Mr. Palk, who had during his former reſidence at Tanjore, made himſelf acceptable to the king, was ſent thither again in the middle of April. He now found the king difficult of acceſs, and more than ever under the influence of his miniſter Succo-jee, who was carrying on a treaty with the Myſoreans, and had prevailed on his maſter to impriſon Monack-jee, under pretence that he had not accounted regularly for the monies which had been iſſued for the expences of the army. The repreſentations made by Mr. Palk, prevented the king from concluding the treaty with the Myſoreans, but did not induce him to ſend his troops to Tritchanopoly. In theſe circumſtances, which the enemy's generals if indued with common ſagacity or activity might ſoon have rendered deſperate, it was diſcovered that the army had for ſome time been expoſed to the danger of treachery from a perſon in whom, by the nature of his office, major Lawrence had been obliged to repoſe the utmoſt confidence.

One day in the beginning of April, a Bramin informed the ſervant of captain Kilpatrick, that as he was waſhing himſelf that morning at the river ſide, ſomeof the enemies Colleries croſſed the river, and gave a parcel to ſome Colleries belonging to the Engliſh camp, whom he heard, although indiſtinctly, ſaying ſomething about a letter, and Mahomed Iſſouf the commander of the Sepoys; he added that he knew the men who had taken the parcel, and deſired aſſiſtance to ſeize them. The Colleries were immediately taken up, and one of them, without heſitation, delivered a woollen parcel, containing a letter directed to Mahomed Iſſouf, which captain Kilpatrick immediately carried to the major, in whoſe preſence it was opened, and interpreted by Poniapah, the principal linguiſt. It was from the king of Myſore, ſealed with his ſeal of ſignature, and on the back was ſtamped the print of a hand, a form equivalent with the Myſoreans to an oath. The letter deſired Mahomed Iſſouf and another officer of Sepoys to meet according to their promiſe ſome perſons who were to be deputed by the king, with powers to adjuſt the time and manner of betraying the city of Tritchanopoly; in reward for which ſervice the king promiſed, if the plot ſucceeded, to give Mahomed Iſſouf a ſum of money equal to 160,000 pounds ſterling, a conſiderable command in his army, with ſome lands; he agreed likewiſe to reward, in the manner

that

that Mahomed Iffouf ſhould recommend, ſuch friends as he might em- 1754.
ploy in the enterprize. On this Mahomed Iffouf, the other officer of Sepoys mentioned in the letter, the Bramin who gave the information, and the Colleries he had accuſed, were impriſoned; and captain Kilpatrick, with captain Caillaud, were appointed to examine them. The Bramin was a writer to the commiſſary of the army, and had lately been confined upon a ſuſpicion of having embezzled ſome money; he perſiſted in his ſtory; but the Colleries ſaid that the parcel was firſt diſcovered by them laying on ſome ſteps near the place where they were waſhing, and that aſking one another what it might be, they concluded it was ſomething belonging to a perſon who had waſhed there in the morning, or to the Bramin himſelf who was then waſhing very near them: ſo they agreed not to touch it, and went away; but one, leſs ſcrupulous than the reſt, in hopes that it might contain ſomething of value, returned and took it up. Mahomed Iſſouf, and the other Sepoy officer, declared they knew nothing of the matter. Poniapah the linguiſt interpreted the depoſitions, and gave it as his opinion that the Bramin knew more of the letter than he had diſcovered. The next day the priſoners were examined again, when the Bramin was aſſured that his life ſhould be ſpared if he would reveal the truth: upon which he declared, that the day before he accuſed the Colleries, he went to Seringham, in conſequence of a meſſage from the regent of Myſore, deſiring to ſee him; when the regent offered him a reward of 100,000 rupees, if he would contrive to make uſe of the letter in queſtion, ſo as to prejudice Mahomed Iſſouf in the minds of the Engliſh; he added, that he undertook the commiſſion partly for the ſake of the reward, and partly from deſire to be revenged on Mahomed Iſſouf, who had been the principal author of his late impriſonment. The Colleries were again examined ſeparately, and agreed without any variation in the depoſition they made the day before; upon which they, as well as Mahomed Iſſouf, and the other Sepoy officer, were releaſed, and declared innocent.

However, ſuſpicions were entertained that the whole truth had not been told, and that ſome perſon, of much more conſequence than an inſignificant writer, ſuch as the Bramin, was at the bottom of this daring

1754. iniquity: the Bramin was therefore ſent back to priſon, and remained there ſeveral days, often urged to diſcover more; but ſtill perſiſting in his ſecond depoſition. At length major Lawrence finding that gentle methods produced nothing, determined to try the effect of terror, and ordered Poniapah, the linguiſt, to acquaint him that he muſt prepare to die the next morning, unleſs he confeſſed the whole truth, and ſupported it by proofs. The linguiſt returned and ſaid the priſoner had now confeſſed that he had been adviſed to go to the king and propoſe the ſcheme of the letter by one Gopinrauze, a man who reſided in Tritchanopoly, and formerly ſerved as an interpreter to the Engliſh commandant of the garriſon. Gopinrauze was immediately examined; he ſaid he knew nothing of the affair, but appeared confounded and frightened, upon which Poniapah the linguiſt ſaid he was certainly guilty. Whilſt the examination of Gopinrauze was carried on in the camp, the Bramin confined in the city contrived to ſend a meſſage to Mahomed Iſſouf, deſiring to ſee him, having ſomething of importance to communicate. Mahomed Iſſouf immediately repaired to the priſon, taking the precaution to carry another perſon with him to be a witneſs of the converſation; when the priſoner made the following declaration. That ſerving in the commiſſary's department, under Peramrauze the principal agent and interpreter to the Engliſh Commiſſary, he had ſeveral times been ſent to Seringham to ſollicit the releaſe of his maſter's family, who had been taken priſoners when the convoy coming from Tricatapolly was defeated. After ſeveral journies he procured their liberty, and a little while afterwards Poniapah propoſed to him, as he was known in the enemy's camp, to carry a letter, and deliver it either to the king or ſome of his principal officers; the Bramin anſwered that it was a dangerous buſineſs, for which he might be hanged; to which the linguiſt replied, that he ſhould be able to ſave him by ſaying that he employed him as a ſpy. The Bramin deſired time to conſider, and immediately went and conſulted his maſter Peramrauze, who adviſed him to comply with Poniapah's requeſt. Poniapah, however, apprehenſive of a diſcovery, told him that it was not proper to write the letter in the Engliſh camp, but directed the priſoner to write it himſelf when arrived in the enemy's camp; which inſtruction he obeyed. The letter

letter was addreſſed to two principal officers, deſiring they would perſuade the regent to write to major Lawrence, and requeſt him to ſend Poniapah to Seringham in order to hear ſome propoſals relating to the diſpute with the Nabob concerning Tritchanopoly. The next day meſſengers from the regent came to major Lawrence, by whoſe orders Poniapah proceeded to Seringham; the Bramin accompanied him, and was preſent during his whole converſation with the regent: who began by exclaiming againſt the Nabob for his breach of faith, and aſked what reaſons the Engliſh could have for ſupporting him in it. Poniapah anſwered, that he had aſſiſted them in defending Fort St. David, when attacked by the French in 1748. Poniapah then aſked the regent what he had in his heart; who replied, that if the Engliſh would pay him all the expences he had incurred during the war, he would go away; or if they would give him the city, he would pay their expences: or laſtly, if the Nabob and his whole family would come and throw themſelves at his feet, beg for mercy, and own themſelves beggars, that would ſatisfy him. Why, ſaid he, do the Engliſh ſtay here and ſpend their money to no purpoſe; my expence is no greater than it would be if I remained in Myſore. Poniapah replied, that he knew the Engliſh would give up the city if their expences were reimburſed; for that he had ſeen a letter to this purport, written by the governor of Madraſs, five or ſix months ago. The regent ſaid he was ready to make the agreement, but that it muſt be kept a ſecret from the French, for he would not truſt them, knowing that they wanted the city for themſelves. Poniapah aſſured him, that the buſineſs might be concluded as ſoon as Mr. Palk arrived at Tanjore; and in anſwer to queſtions made by the regent, he told him, that the Engliſh got all their proviſions from Tondeman's country, that there were only proviſions for two months in the city, and likewiſe revealed ſeveral other intereſting particulars of their condition. The regent aſſured him, that if the negociation ſucceeded, he would give him a great reward in money, a number of villages, and the command of a thouſand Bramins: for Poniapah himſelf was a Bramin. The conference then finiſhed, and Poniapah, at his return to camp, reported to the major ſuch part of it only as could not prejudice himſelf; he likewiſe ordered the Bramin to ſay nothing of what he

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1754. had heard to any one, excepting his maſter Peramrauze, and to tell him only ſuch particulars as he himſelf intended to relate to the major. Some time after the commiſſary's buſineſs requiring the Bramin to go to Tanjore, Poniapah was averſe to his departure. On his return from thence he was confined under a guard of Sepoys, for a deficiency in ſome money which had been intruſted to him; but Peramrauze promiſing to be reſponſible for him, Mahomed Iſſouf, after much ſollicitation, releaſed him: as ſoon as he came out of his confinement, his maſter ſent him to Poniapah, who told him, that ſo much time had been loſt by his journey to Tanjore, and his confinement after his return, that the regent who had heard nothing of the buſineſs ſince they went to Seringham together, muſt imagine they had trifled with him; it was neceſſary therefore, he ſaid, that the Bramin ſhould go to the regent without delay. The Bramin conſenting, Poniapah gave him inſtructions how to conduct himſelf; in conſequence of which he adviſed the regent to write to Mr. Palk at Tanjore, deſiring him to get permiſſion for Poniapah to come again to Seringham: he added that if the regent could in the mean time contrive to prevent the Engliſh from receiving proviſions, they muſt inevitably retire; that as the Neloor Subahdar was the only perſon who knew how to conduct their convoys, it was neceſſary to get him killed, which might eaſily be effected, ſince he often went abroad with ſmall parties; but as a ſurer method to remove him, the regent ought to write a letter addreſſed to him, pretending that he had promiſed to betray the city. The regent wrote the letter without heſitation, and delivered it to the Bramin, who returning from Seringham, was taken up with the letter concealed in his cloaths, by ſome of the Engliſh troopers: they carried him a priſoner to the camp, but without diſcovering the letter; he was extricated out of this difficulty by Poniapah, who being ordered to examine him, reported that he had been to viſit ſome relations at Elimiſerum. As ſoon as he was releaſed, he went to his maſter Peramrauze, and gave him ſome hints of the buſineſs he had been doing at Seringham. The next day he laid the letter on the ſteps by the river ſide, and as ſoon as he ſaw one of the Colleries take it up, went and gave information to Captain Kilpatrick's ſervant.

Mahomed

Mahomed Iſſouf, on hearing this account, immediately went to Peramrauze, and aſked him what he knew of the affair. The man threw himſelf at his feet, and implored his mercy; but Mahomed Iſſouf immediately ſecured him, and returning to the camp, related what the Bramin had declared, on which Poniapah was ſeized and impriſoned. 1754.

The Bramin repeated to the court of enquiry, without addition or deviation all he had declared to Mahomed Iſſouf: being aſked what induced him to accuſe Gopinrauze, he ſaid, that when major Lawrence had determined to put him to death, unleſs he diſcovered his accomplices, Poniapah, who was ordered to acquaint him of this reſolution, adviſed him to accuſe ſomebody, and aſked him whether he had lately had any converſation with Gopinrauze; he replied that he had met him at the houſe of Peramrauze, on the evening after his return from Seringham, and that they had converſed together in private near a quarter of an hour, whilſt a number of Sepoy officers and other perſons were aſſembled in the houſe, in order to ſee the experiments of a conjurer, who had been ſent for by his maſter, to diſcover in what manner the money was loſt, for which he, the Bramin, had been confined on his return from Tanjore: upon this Poniapah adviſed him to accuſe Gopinrauze, and to ſtick to that, that would do. Peramrauze, was likewiſe examined, and his evidence coinciding with the declaration of the Bramin, in all the points of which the Bramin had declared him to have any knowledge, Poniapah was condemned, and ſome time after blown off from the muzzle of a cannon. He confeſſed nothing; his antipathy to Mahomed Iſſouf aroſe from his jealouſy of the influence which this officer had obtained in the camp, by which his own importance was much diminiſhed. This complicated treachery ſhews to what dangers the affairs of Europeans in Indoſtan may be expoſed, by not having perſons of their own nation ſufficiently verſed in the languages of India, to ſerve inſtead of the natives as interpreters.

The regent, in telling Poniapah that the maintenance of his army at Seringham had not diſtreſſed his finances, diſſembled the truth; for his expences had been ſo great, that he could hardly find money to pay his own troops, and had none to ſatisfy the demands of the Morattoes. This Morari-row perceiving, began to tire of the war, and deſirous of

1754. ſome plauſible pretext to break with him, demanded to be paid his arrears, which by the account he made out, amounted to a million of rupees; but the regent having never refuſed to ſupply him with money whenever he demanded it, thought he had already overpaid him. This occaſioned ſome ſharp altercations, and Morari-row, as the ſhorteſt way to bring the regent to his terms, took all his Morattoes from Seringham, and encamped with them on the 11th of May to the north of the Coleroon, declaring that he would not return before the money was paid.

The next day, the 12th of May, a party of 120 Europeans, 500 Sepoys, and two field pieces, under the command of captain Caillaud, marched from the camp at four in the morning, intending to wait about two miles to the ſouth of the ſugar loaf rock, for a convoy of proviſions which was ordered to advance out of the woods. The poſt in which the party intended to halt, had formerly been one of thoſe reſervoirs of water called tanks, which occur ſo frequently in the arid plains of this country, where that element is procured with ſo much difficulty. Theſe tanks are generally dug ſquare, the ſides of ſome being 500 feet long, and of others not more than 100; with the earth taken out is formed a mound, which encloſes the tank at the diſtance of forty feet from the margin of the water. The tank in which the party intended to take poſt was, through age and neglect, choaked up, but the mound remained. Mahomed Iſſouf riding at ſome diſtance before the advanced guard, was ſurprized as he aſcended a little eminence by the neighing of his horſe, who was immediately anſwered by the neighing of ſeveral others; proceeding, nevertheleſs, to reconnoitre, he diſcovered the French troopers poſted behind a bank on the other ſide of the eminence, who immediately diſcharged their carbines at him, and then mounted. Captain Callaud, on hearing the firing, formed his party, and rode up to the advanced guard, where he met Mahomed Iſſouf, who told him that the enemy were laying in wait to intercept the convoy, and that he believed a body of French troops had taken poſt in the tank where they themſelves intended to halt; it was immediately determined to attack them. The day was juſt beginning to dawn; the troops were formed in one line, the Sepoys on the right, and the Europeans on the left; and captain Cal-

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liaud concluding that the enemy would expect the attack in front, ordered the Sepoys, under the command of Mahomed Iſſouf, to wheel and attack them on the right, whilſt he himſelf with the Europeans fell on the left flank. The onſet was vigorouſly made by both diviſions almoſt in the ſame inſtant, and the enemy finding themſelves unexpectedly between two fires, abandoned the tank with precipitation; the Engliſh immediately took poſſeſſion of it, and a little while after, daylight enabled them to diſcover that the numbers of the enemy were 250 Europeans, with four field pieces, 1000 Sepoys, and 4000 Myſore horſe, who now divided into two bodies, one on each ſide of the tank, and began a ſmart cannonade, which was anſwered by the Engliſh field pieces. Major Lawrence was at this time ſo much indiſpoſed, that he had the day before been obliged to go into the city; and captain Polier commanded in his abſence, who no ſooner heard the firing than he marched to the relief of the party with the reſt of the army. The reſt of the enemy's army at the ſame time croſſed the Caveri, but the difference of the diſtance enabled the Engliſh to get to the tank ſome time before them: thoſe of the enemy who were engaged with captain Calliaud's party, fearful of placing themſelves between two fires, made no effort to intercept captain Polier's diviſion; but contented themſelves with cannonading them from the right and left as they advanced: a ſhot diſabled one of his field pieces, and on his arrival at the tank he found that one of thoſe with captain Calliaud had ſuffered the ſame misfortune; ſome time was ſpent in fixing theſe guns on ſpare carriages, during which the enemy's main body came up, and being joined by the reſt of their troops, the whole now formed together within cannon ſhot to the right of the tank, their line extending a great way beyond it towards the city. Their numbers were 700 Europeans, fifty dragoons, 5000 Sepoys, and 10000 horſe, of which fortunately none were Morattoes. The Engliſh army conſiſted of no more than 360 men in battalion, 1500 Sepoys, and eleven troopers. However, encouraged by their officers, the men ſhewed no diſmay at the ſuperiority of the enemy's force, and prepared with great alacrity to fight their way back to the camp. The Europeans defiled firſt out of the tank into the plain, marching onward in a column, ready on the firſt occaſion to face about to the enemy on the right. The Sepoys then followed in

1754.

1754. a line, which terminating in a right angle with the rear of the battalion, extended to the left of it. The French battalion relying on the ſuperiority of their artillery, which were ſeven field pieces, did not come near enough to do much execution with their muſketry; but their Sepoys moving into the rear of the Engliſh Sepoys, fired very ſmartly, and killed and wounded many of them, as well as ſome of the Europeans, amongſt whom captain Polier received a wound. However, the Engliſh troops proceeded without making a halt, until they took poſſeſſion of another tank, ſituated about a mile from that which they had quitted. Juſt as they had got into this poſt, captain Polier received a ſecond wound, which diſabling him from farther ſervice, he gave up the command to captain Calliaud. The enemy now ſeemed determined to let the Engliſh eſcape no farther; and threatened a general aſſault on the tank, for their Sepoys and cavalry drew up on three ſides of it, whilſt the French menaced the other. Major Lawrence, although very ill, ordered himſelf to be carried to the top of one of the city gates, and contemplating from thence the diſpoſitions of both armies, trembled for the fate of his own; but it happened otherwiſe. The three Engliſh field pieces were braſs ſix pounders, and capable of diſcharging a great quantity of grape ſhot, and the artillery men, with their uſual dexterity and calmneſs, fired them with ſuch vivacity and good aim as the French battalion advanced, that in a few minutes they ſtruck down near a hundred men, which execution ſtaggering the reſt, their line halted, irreſolute whether to proceed or retreat: captain Calliaud ſeized this inſtant, and ſallying with all the Europeans, gave them a diſcharge of muſketry ſo well levelled, that it immediately flung them into diſorder, and breaking their ranks they ran away in great confuſion: their officers endeavoured to rally them, but in vain, for they would not ſtop before they were out of the reach of cannon ſhot, and then could not be prevailed upon to return to the attack. The Sepoys and Myſore cavalry, who had been hitherto kept at bay by the Engliſh Sepoys, ſeeing their European allies retreating, immediately deſiſted from the engagement, and the whole retreated together by Weycondah to the iſland. The Engliſh contented with their ſucceſs, which was indeed greater than could have been expected, did not purſue, but continued their march

quietly to the camp; their loſs was ſeven Europeans killed, and forty-eight, with ſix officers out of nine, wounded, and 150 Sepoys were either killed or wounded. The enemy ſuffered much more, having near 200 of their battalion, and 300 Sepoys killed or wounded. The convoy which had returned into the woods, receiving information of the enemy's retreat, ſet out again, and arrived the ſame night at the camp, which was in ſuch want of proviſions, that if the enemy had only taken the reſolution of encamping near the ground where they had fought, the Engliſh army would have been obliged to march away the next day to Tanjore. 1754.

The enemy reflecting with much vexation upon their diſgrace, thought it neceſſary to perform ſome exploit which might re-eſtabliſh their reputation: but not having the heart to attack the Engliſh in their camp, they determined to wreck their vengeance on the Polygar Tondeman, whoſe attachment to the Engliſh had alone enabled them to ſtand their ground at Tritchanopoly, ſo long after they could get no more proviſions from the Tanjore country. Accordingly the ſecond night after the engagement, M. Maiſſin with all his Europeans, 3000 Sepoys, and 2000 horſe, marched into the Polygar's country, with an intention to commit every kind of ravage; but the inhabitants alarmed, removed their effects, and drove their cattle into the thickeſt parts of their woods, where it was impoſſible to follow them, and the enemy found nothing but empty villages to burn, except at Killanore, where after diſperſing the Engliſh Sepoys ſtationed there, they took three or four hundred bags of rice, and an iron gun. Vexed that they had with much fatigue been able to do very little miſchief in this country, they reſolved to fall on the dominions of the king of Tanjore, and plundering as they went, appeared before Kelly Cottah, which ſurrendered on the ſecond day.

Major Lawrence not doubting but that the war thus unexpectedly carried into his country would convince the king of the neceſſity of acting again in conjunction with the Engliſh, determined to avail himſelf of the firſt impreſſion which theſe hoſtilities might make upon his mind, and prepared to march away to Tanjore. The guards at Elimiſerum and the other out-poſts were drawn off: 100 of the battalion were ſent into the city to augment the garriſon to 400 Europeans, and the

1754. the reſt of the army ſet out the 23d, at two in the morning, proceeding through Tondeman's woods.

Orders at the ſame time were ſent directing the reinforcement which was waiting at Devi Cotah to march and join the army at Tanjore. The party which had been ſent under the command of lieutenant Frazer to raiſe the ſiege of Palam Cotah, returned in the month of January to Devi Cotah, from whence another was ſent in the month of February to make an incurſion into the diſtricts of Chilambrum, where the French had juſt collected a very large harveſt of rice: this detachment conſiſted of thirty Europeans, and 200 Sepoys, commanded by a volunteer of no experience They deſtroyed and ſet fire to a great quantity of grain which they found piled up in ſtacks in the fields; but hearing that the enemy's principal magazine was at Manarcoile, a pagoda, twelve miles ſouthweſt from Chilambrum, they marched againſt the place, and ſummoned the French ſerjeant who commanded in it. The man perceiving that they had no battering cannon, anſwered their ſummons by a defiance. The Engliſh officer believing, nevertheleſs, that he ſhould by the fire of his muſketry alone oblige the garriſon to ſurrender, remained before the place, making ſome very aukward and inſufficient diſpoſitions to reduce it. The French garriſon at Chilambrum apprized of this by the ſerjeant, marched and came upon them by ſurprize, and the ſerjeant ſallying at the ſame time with 100 Sepoys, the party was entirely routed, and the officer, with nine of his Europeans, were made priſoners. The detachment, under the command of captain Pigou, arriving ſoon after this at Devi Cotah, deterred the enemy for ſome time from committing any hoſtilities in this part of the country; but finding at length that theſe troops, whilſt waiting for orders to march to Tritchanopoly, did not venture to make any incurſions into their territories, Mr. Dupleix reaſſumed his intentions of reducing Palam Cotah; and in the end of April a party conſiſting of eight hundred Sepoys and ſeventy Europeans, with three pieces of battering cannon, and ſome field pieces, appeared before the place; the governor immediately applied for aſſiſtance to the company's agent at Devi Cotah: ſome time was loſt in debating whether the troops intended for the reinforcement of the army at Tritchanopoly ought to be expoſed on this ſervice: but

but at length exact intelligence being received of the enemy's numbers, it was concluded that they could run no great riſque in attacking them; and they marched, accompanied by five hundred Sepoys. Early the next morning they arrived within four miles of Palam Cotah; when the enemy diſcovering them immediately ſpiked up their heavy cannon, blew up and threw into ponds and wells all their ammunition, and marched away towards Chilambrum. Five hundred Sepoys were detached with orders to harraſs them until the main body ſhould come up; but they had ſo much the ſtart, and continued their march with ſuch precipitation, that the purſuit was vain. Two days after a report prevailed that the Morattoes who had entered the kingdom of Tanjore, intended to intercept the Engliſh troops in their return to Devi Cotah; to prevent which they immediately quitted Palam Cotah. The French at Chilambrum hearing of their departure, marched out in hopes of gaining ſome advantage over them in the retreat; and their advanced guard of Sepoys came up before the firſt diviſion had croſſed the Coleroon; enſign Richard Smith, with the rear guard of three hundred Sepoys, was ordered to make head againſt them, and kept them at a diſtance until the reſt had gained the other bank; but as ſoon as he began to retreat with the rear guard, the enemy, now augmented to the number of one thouſand Sepoys, preſſed hard upon him, and the freſhes of the Coleroon happening to deſcend at this time, the river was riſen ſo much ſince the firſt diviſion began to croſs, that it was now ſcarcely fordable: the rear, however, having no other reſource, determined to croſs it at all events, and were all the while expoſed to the enemy's fire from the thickets which covered the bank, by which twenty men were wounded, and ſome of the ſhorteſt ſize were drowned in the ſtream. A few days after his return to Devi Cotah captain Pigou received orders from major Lawrence to proceed to Tanjore. 1754.

The major purſuing his march through the woods, was met the day after his departure from Tritchanopoly by the Polygar Tondeman, whom he received with the reſpect due to his fidelity and attachment to the Engliſh cauſe. The ſame day likewiſe came an expreſs from the king of Tanjore, fraught with compliments for the reſolution which the major had taken to come to his aſſiſtance, and preſſing him to haſten

1754. his march. Indeed what had juſt happened in his country rendered the major's approach every day more and more welcome. From Kelly Cotah the enemy went to Coiladdy, which having taken on the 24th, they immediately cut through the great bank, which preventing the waters of the Caveri from running into the channel of the Coleroon, may be called the bulwark of the fertility of the Tanjore country.

This, therefore, was the greateſt miſchief they could do to that nation, and ſtruck them with ſo much conſternation, that the king thinking it neceſſary to ſhew ſome appearance of vigour, ordered his uncle Gauderow to march with 1500 horſe to Tricatapoly, and puniſh the enemy; but this unwary general was ſurprized the next day by an enemy he did not expect. The Nabob, during the courſe of the war, had made ſeveral propoſals to induce Morari-row to return to his own country, but the exorbitance of the demands on one ſide, and the diſtreſs for money on the other, had hitherto been inſurmountable obſtacles to the concluſion of the treaty. The ſame cauſes having now ſeparated the Morattoes from the Myſoreans, the Nabob entertained hopes that he ſhould get rid of this dangerous enemy without expence. But Morari-row lay at Pitchandah, brooding ſchemes, and determined not to depart before he had got a certain ſum of money from one or other of the contending parties, and perhaps from both. The march of Gauderow to Tricatapoly, inſtantly ſuggeſted to him that a ſevere blow ſtruck upon theſe troops by the Morrattoes would infallibly induce the king of Tanjore, already terrified by the incurſions of the French and Myſoreans, to furniſh the money neceſſary to purchaſe his retreat; if diſappointed in this expectation, he at leaſt would have the ſatisfaction of taking vengeance for the ſevere blow which the Morattoes had ſuſtained from Monack-jee in the beginning of the year. Animated by this double motive of intereſt and revenge, he croſſed the two rivers in the night with 3000 of his beſt troops, who fell at day-break upon Gauderow's party ſo furiouſly that only 300 with their general eſcaped; the reſt, were all either killed or taken priſoners. Two days after this defeat, the Engliſh arrived at Tanjore, where they were joined by the detachment from Devi Cotah, of 150 Europeans, and 500 Sepoys, under the command of captain Pigou. Major Lawrence being at this time

time much indiſpoſed, deputed captain Calliaud to act in conjunction with Mr. Palk in the conferences with the king upon the meaſures neceſſary to be taken. 1754.

They found that although the late misfortunes had convinced the king of his imprudence in withdrawing his aſſiſtance from the Engliſh, as well as in diſplacing his general Monack-jee, they had not weaned him from his affection to Succojee, whoſe counſels had brought ſuch diſtreſs upon himſelf and his country. Seeking, as irreſolute minds generally do, to reconcile incompatabilities he wanted to employ the general without removing his mortal enemy the miniſter. However, finding that the diſmiſſion of Succojee was the only condition on which the Engliſh would accept of his alliance, and hearing at the ſame time that they daily expected conſiderable reinforcements, ſuch as might enable them to carry on the war without him, he at length conſented to baniſh Succojee from his preſence and councils, and not only reinſtated Monack-jee in the command of the army, but likewiſe appointed him prime miniſter. Mr. Palk and captain Calliaud, to ſecure the king from a relapſe, inſiſted that the diſgraced miniſter ſhould immediately quit the kingdom, and he departed with his family, giving out that he was going to viſit ſome famous pagoda at a great diſtance, the uſual pretext of ſuch great men of the Indian religion, who think it neceſſary to retreat from danger, or are obliged to retire from power. This change, ſo eſſential to the intereſts of the Nabob and the Eaſt-India company, was effected within ſeven days after the arrival of the army at Tanjore, and Monack-jee received his commiſſions from the king in ceremony on the 7th of June, and immediately began to levy new troops to repair the loſs which the Tanjorine army had lately ſuſtained; but as it required ſome time to collect the recruits, Major Lawrence requeſted the preſidency to haſten the junction of Maphuze Khan, and of the reinforcements which were arrived at Madraſs from Bombay and Europe; ſo that the whole might march from Tanjore to Tritchanopoly in one body.

Accordingly a detachment of 400 men in battalion, half Europeans and half Topaſſes, together with 500 Sepoys, marched to join Maphuze Khan at Conjevaram, and from thence to proceed with him to Tanjore.

1754. This man, as fond of being at the head of a body of troops as he was incapable of employing them to any good purpoſe, ſhewed no inclination to quit the country about Arcot, giving for a reaſon that Abdulwahab Khan had failed to advance the money neceſſary to ſatisfy his troops. Under this pretext he moved up and down the country, levying contributions from ſuch forts and polygars as were not ſtrong enough to reſiſt him. At length receiving aſſurances from the preſidency that they would furniſh him with money, provided he would march immediately to the ſouthward, he ſet up his ſtandard at Conjevaram in the month of May; and aſſured them that he would proceed without delay; but Mr. Dupleix, well acquainted with his character, confounded this reſolution, by ordering the garriſon of Gingee, with ſome other troops, to take the field. This body although much inferior to Maphuze Khan's force, frightened him ſo much that he declared he could not proceed unleſs he was joined by a detachment of Europeans: in the mean time the enemy, encouraged by his imbecillity, advanced from Gingee, and took the fort of Outramaloor, which lays about 20 miles nearly weſt from Sadraſs, and fluſhed by this ſucceſs they proceeded to another fort ſtill nearer to Conjevaram: but enſign Pichard, who had now joined Maphuze Khan with a platoon of Europeans, prevailed upon him to march againſt the enemy, who on their approach retreated to Outramaloor; enſign Pichard finding Maphuze Khan not a little elated with this acknowledgment of his ſuperiority, perſuaded him to follow them, and attack the fort, which being in a ruinous condition, a general aſſault was given, which ſucceeded, and the enemy ran away in a panick to Gingee, where they ſhut themſelves up. This ſucceſs, nevertheleſs, did not induce Maphuze Khan to proceed as he had promiſed to Tritchanopoly; but he returned to Conjevaram with a reſolution not to quit it again until he had received the money he had ſo often demanded. The preſidency finding he was not to be influenced by any other motive, paid him 50,000 rupees, and agreed to pay as much more after he had croſſed the Coleroon; this and the junction of the large detachment ſent to accompany him, left him without any farther pretences for delay, and he began his march from Conjevaram in the beginning of July.

Morari-

Morari-row returning, after the victory he had gained over Gauderow, to his camp on the other ſide of the Coleroon, purſued the reſt of his ſcheme, writing to the Nabob, who was then juſt arrived at Tanjore, that if he would give him ſecuriry for the payment of 300,000 rupees, he would return to his own country, and never more be an enemy either to him, the Engliſh, or the Tanjorines. The Nabob having no money, applied as the Morattoe had forſeen, to the king of Tanjore, who, after many meetings conſented to furniſh it, and the articles were drawn up and ſigned, ſtipulating that 50,000 rupees ſhould be paid as ſoon as the Morattoes arrived at Volcondah, 100,000 more when they came to the paſs of the weſtern mountains, and the remaining 150,000 when they arrived in their own country. Whilſt this tranſaction was carrying on at Tanjore, Morari-row acquainted the regent of Myſore that he was in treaty with the Nabob, but offered if the Myſorean would pay him the arrears he had ſo often demanded to return to his aſſiſtance: the regent ſent him what money he could ſpare, about 50,000 rupees, which the Morattoe no ſooner received than he marched away with all his troops to Volcondah, and in the beginning of July left the province and went to his own country, which lays about 100 miles north-eaſt from Arcot. Here Morari-row, after he ſurrendered Tritchanopoly to Nizam-al-muluck in 1741, was permitted to erect a principality, dependant indeed on the Soubah of the decan, but independant of his own nation: as all new ſtates are conducted with more vigour and attention than ſuch as have been long eſtabliſhed, he ſoon made himſelf admired and reſpected by his neighbours, enliſting none of his countrymen but ſuch as were of approved valour, and treating them ſo well, that they never entertained any thoughts of quitting him: on the contrary the whole army ſeemed as one family; the ſpirit of exploit which he contrived to keep up amongſt them by equitable partitions of plunder, rendered them fond of their fatigues, and they never complained but when they had nothing to do. The choice he made of his officers ſtill more diſcovered his capacity; for there was not a commander of 100 horſe who was not fit to command the whole; notwithſtanding which every one was contented in his particular ſtation, and they all lived in perfect harmony with each other, and in perfect obedience to

1754.

1754. to their general. So that this body of troops were, without exception, the beſt ſoldiers of native Indians at this time in Indoſtan. Beſides the qualities common to the reſt of the Morattoe nation, ſuch as activity, ſtratagem, great dexterity in the management of their horſes and ſabres, they had by their conflicts againſt Europeans ſurmounted in a great degree the terror of fire arms, although oppoſed to them with the ſteadieſt diſcipline; and what is more extraordinary, were even capable of ſtanding againſt the vivacity of a cannonade from field pieces: although this terrible annoyance, never made uſe of in India before the war we are commemorating, continued to ſtrike all other Indian troops with as much terror as their anceſtors felt when regular muſketry was firſt employed againſt them.

Immediately after the departure of the Engliſh army, the garriſon of Tritchanopoly received two or three convoys from the woods, upon which the enemy croſſed the Caveri, and encamped on the plain, firſt at Chuckley-apollam, and afterwards to the ſouth of the city, changing their camp ſeveral times, between Elimiſerum and the five rocks: their patroles conſtantly traverſing this line rendered it impoſſible for the Sepoys at Kellinore to paſs with any more proviſions, and the garriſon were obliged to live on their ſtock, which with ſparing management might laſt for three months. More than one had already elapſed before the treaty with the Morattoes was concluded at Tanjore; after which major Lawrence, anxious to return, preſſed Monack-jee to march. Few of the generals of India have any notion of the value of time in military operations, and Monack-jee either pretended or found ſuch difficulties in recruiting his cavalry, that he declared he could not be ready before the end of July. Wearied with theſe delays, and hoping that ſuch a mark of his impatience would excite the Tanjorines to follow him, major Lawrence, acccompanied by the Nabob, marched away with the Engliſh troops from Tanjore on the 22d, and encamped at Atchempettah, a town in the woods belonging to the Colleries, about twelve miles weſt from Tanjore: five days after Monack-jee ſet up his ſtandard and joined him with the Tanjorine army; but he now declared that his troops would be greatly diſſatisfied if they proceeded any farther before Maphuze Khan with the

the reinforcement that accompanied him came up. The Nabob likewiſe preſſing major Lawrence to wait for thoſe troops, he much againſt his will conſented, but obliged Monack-jee to collect a quantity of proviſions ſufficient to replace what ſhould be conſumed by the Engliſh troops in the field and in Tritchanopoly, during the delay occaſioned by this reſolution. 1754.

At this time a revolution, little expected by any one in India, happened in the government of Pondicherry. The directors of the Engliſh Eaſt India company had in the preceding year, made repreſentations to the miniſtry of Great Britain, on the hoſtilities in which they were involved on the coaſt of Coromandel, and ſollicited the ſupport of the government either to terminate or carry on a war, which their own reſources were little able to continue againſt the French company, ſtrongly ſupported by the adminiſtration of France. The Britiſh miniſtry ſoon conceived the neceſſity of interfering vigorouſly, to ſtop the ambitious projects of Mr. Dupleix, and began a negociation with the French miniſtry on the ſubject. Mr. Duvelaer, a director of the French company, together with his brother the count de Lude, who had both of them reſided for many years in the Eaſt Indies, were deputed from Paris, to treat with the miniſtry in London, and had frequent conferences with the earl of Holderneſſe, at that time one of his majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate, who by much application and frequent enquiries from all perſons capable of giving true information, had gained an extenſive knowlege of the ſubject; however intricate and little underſtood. This miniſter finding that the French endeavoured as uſual, to gain time under the pretence of negotiating, prevailed on the king, to order a ſquadron of men of war to be equipped, on board of which a regiment was to be embarked for the Eaſt Indies. This vigorous reſolution convinced the French adminiſtration, that a perſeverance in their ſchemes of making conqueſts, and obtaining dominions in Indoſtan, would ſoon involve the two nations in a general war: for which France was in no wiſe prepared; and they conſented that the diſputes of the two companies ſhould be adjuſted by commiſſaries in India, on a footing of equality; without any regard to the advantages which either the one or the other might be in poſſeſſion of, at the time when the treaty

1754. ſhould be concluded. It now remained only to chooſe ſuch commiſſaries, as would implicitly fulfil theſe intentions, and the French themſelves, were ſo fully convinced that Mr. Dupleix, was not a man fit to be truſted with a commiſſion, which contradicted ſo ſtrongly every part of his conduct ſince the beginning of the war of Coromandel, that they foreſaw the Engliſh miniſtry would ſuſpect the good faith of every pacific profeſſion they had lately made, if they ſhould offer to nominate Mr. Dupleix a commiſſary to adjuſt the terms of peace. Having therefore no alternative, they of their own accord, and without any application from the Engliſh miniſtry, took the reſolution of removing him from the government of Pondicherry; and appointed Mr. Godeheu a director of the French company, their commiſſary to negociate the peace, and at the ſame time commander general, with abſolute authority over all their ſettlements in the Eaſt Indies. The Engliſh company empowered Mr. Saunders, and ſome other members of the council of Madraſs to treat with Mr. Godeheu.

On the 1ſt of Auguſt, Mr. Dupleix received advice of theſe reſolutions, and the next day, a ſhip anchored at Pondicherry with Mr. Godeheu on board. He landed immediately, proclaimed his commiſſion, and took upon him the adminiſtration of the government; which Mr. Dupleix reſigned to him with the ſame affectation of compoſure and ſerenity, that he had always ſhewn on every other diſappointment or reverſe of fortune. By this reaſonable conduct, he preſerved himſelf from an ignominy which was ready to be exerciſed upon him, in caſe he had proved refractory, for Mr. Godeheu was furniſhed with one of thoſe orders ſigned by the king, which ſuperſedes all forms of the French laws and juriſprudence, by declaring the perſon againſt whom it is directed a criminal of ſtate, and renders all other perſons guilty of high treaſon, who refuſe to aſſiſt in carrying the mandate into execution. His ſucceſſor Mr. Godeheu not having occaſion to make uſe of this extremity of his power, treated him with much reſpect, and even permitted him to continue the exhibition of thoſe marks of Mooriſh dignity, which both Murzafa-jing, and Salabad-jing, had permitted him to diſplay, when they appointed him Nabob of the Carnatic. Theſe were of various flags and enſigns, various inſtruments of military muſic, particular ornaments

ments for his palankeen, a Mooriſh dreſs diſtinguiſhed likewiſe with ornaments peculiar to the Nabobſhip; and in this equipage, he went with great ſolemnity to dine with Mr. Godeheu on the feaſt of St. Louis. 1754.

Mr. Godeheu immediately on his arrival acquainted Mr. Saunders of the intentions for which he was ſent to India; and as a proof of his earneſtneſs to accompliſh them, ſent back to Madraſs the company of Swiſs ſoldiers which Mr. Dupleix had made priſoners as they were going in Maſſoolas from Madraſs to fort St. David in the beginning of the preceding year. The two governors entered into a correſpondence, and both ſeemed deſirous of agreeing to a ſuſpenſion of arms, but until it ſhould be concluded they ſeemed attentive to loſe no advantage which might be gained in the field.

The orders ſent to haſten Maphuze Khan found him after many unneceſſary delays juſt arrived at fort St. David, with no inclination to proceed any farther. This indeed now ſcarcely depended on his own choice, for his troops, grown refractory from their conviction of his incapacity, refuſed to march before they received more money; notwithſtanding the preſidency had paid 50,000 rupees when they ſet out, and the remaining 50,000 was not due before they croſſed the Coleroon; but major Lawrence having no expectation of eſſential ſervice from ſuch troops with ſuch a commander, thought it unneceſſary to waſte either more time or money to procure their aſſiſtance, and ordered the detachment of Europeans to leave them behind. On the 14th of Auguſt the detachment arrived at Atchempettah, and the next day the whole army was reviewed in preſence of the Nabob and Monack-jee. The Engliſh troops conſiſted of 1200 men in battalion, part of them Topaſſes, with 3000 Sepoys, and 14 field pieces: the Tanjorines were 2500 cavalry, and 3000 infantry, moſtly armed with muſkets, and they had with them ſome pieces of cannon: the Nabob had only his guard of fifty horſe. On the 16th the army marched and encamped at Natal pettah, a village in the woods, ſix miles to the eaſt of Elimiſerum, and proceeding the next day, entered the plain about a mile to the ſouth-eaſt of this place, intending to paſs between the ſugar loaf and the French rocks. The enemy, informed by ſcouts of their approach, marched from their camp at the five rocks to oppoſe their paſſage.

1754. A deep watercourſe, ſupplied from the Caveri to the eaſtward of Chuckleya-pollam, interſects the plain nearly at an equal diſtance between the French rock and Elimiſerum, and ſtrikes to the ſouth of the ſugar loaf rock; a large bank ran along that ſide of the watercourſe which was neareſt to the enemy, who by taking poſſeſſion of this bank might have obliged major Lawrence either to have altered the courſe of his march, or to have engaged them under a very great diſadvantage: but their commander, Mr. Maiſſin, for reaſons not publickly avowed, neglected to avail himſelf of this advantage. The Engliſh army advancing cloſe by Elimiſerum in a direct line from thence to the city, perceived and were ſurprized at this neglect; and major Lawrence immediately ordered the advanced guard, conſiſting of 400 Sepoys, and 100 Europeans with two field pieces, to proceed briſkly and ſecure that part of the bank and watercourſe over which he intended to march. As they approached the enemy cannonaded them, but did nothing more; and the whole army ſoon after croſſed the bank without interruption; after which they halted and formed in two lines, extending obliquely between the ſugar loaf and the French rocks from the watercourſe towards the city. The firſt line was compoſed entirely of the Engliſh troops; the battalion with the field pieces in the center, and the Sepoys on each wing: in the ſecond line was the baggage, accompanied by the Tanjorine cavalry and Peans, with the rear guard of 100 Europeans, and 400 Sepoys: in this order they waited for the enemy, who were drawn up in a line parallel to them, at about the diſtance of a mile: their battalion having been reinforced the night before with 200 men, conſiſted of 900 Europeans, and 400 Topaſſes, who with their Sepoys were on the right near the ſugar loaf rock: the Myſore cavalry, about 10000, extended ſo far to the left, that many of them were drawn up to the weſtward of the city; as their line approached the French advanced three field pieces, which cannonaded the left of the Engliſh line, but were ſoon ſilenced by a ſuperior fire: however, the enemy continued to advance until they came within cannon ſhot, when they were fired upon from ten pieces of cannon, which they anſwered with eight. The Engliſh fire was much hotter and better directed than the enemy's, and in a few rounds ſtruck down more than fifty of the French battalion;

lion; upon which the whole went ſuddenly to the right about, and marched away towards their camp at the five rocks, in the ſame order as they had advanced; major Lawrence preparing to follow them received intelligence that his convoy was expoſed to a danger which demanded his whole attention; the rear guard by ſome miſtake quitted their ſtation during the cannonade, and formed upon the right of the firſt line, and Monack-jee likewiſe quitted the convoy, and drew up the Tanjorine cavalry in a ſeparate body at a diſtance, in order to prevent the Myſoreans from falling upon the right flank of the army and baggage. Hidernaig, the beſt officer of the Myſoreans, happened to be in this part of the plain, and ſeeing the baggage left without protection, ordered ſome of his troops to amuſe the Tanjorines in front, whilſt he himſelf with another body galloped round the French rock, and fell upon the rear of the convoy, amongſt which they created no ſmall confuſion, and ſeized thirty-five carts, ſome of them laden with arms and ammunition, and others with baggage belonging to the Engliſh officers. Major Lawrence, as ſoon as he diſcovered the miſtakes which had given riſe to this diſorder, directed the rear guard to march back to their ſtation; but before they arrived the enemy were gone off with their booty towards Chuckleya-pollam. A party of 500 Topaſſes and Sepoys, with two guns, had croſſed the Caveri, and were advancing at this time from Seringham to take poſſeſſion of the French rock, which being perceived by captain Kilpatrick, he ſallied with a part of his garriſon, and cannonaded them ſo briſkly that they retreated in great confuſion to the iſland. Some time was ſpent in reaſſembling the ſcattered bullocks and coolies; after which the army continued their march, and encamped near the walls to the ſouth of the city. Eight Europeans were killed by the cannonade, and amongſt them captain Pigou, an officer of promiſing hopes, whoſe death was much lamented; near 100 of the French batalion were killed and wounded; but the irreſolution and faintneſs of their behaviour this day was not imputed ſo much to want of courage, as to orders, which it was ſuppoſed their commander Mr. Maiſſin had received, to avoid a general engagement. 1754.

The ſtock of proviſions brought with the army were depoſited in the city for the uſe of the garriſon, and major Lawrence determined to

1754. get ſupplies for his camp as uſual from Tanjore and Tondeman's country: but as it was neceſſary to drive the enemy from the plain before this could be effected with facility, he moved on the 20th of Auguſt to the Facquire's tope, hoping to provoke them to fight. This motion produced a different but a better effect, for at noon they ſet fire to their camp, and retreated to Moota Chellinoor, oppoſite to the head of the iſland. In the evening Monack-jee, with the Tanjorines, inveſted Elimiſerum, where the enemy had a guard of 150 Sepoys, and thirteen Europeans, with one piece of cannon. Theſe after very little reſiſtance ſurrendered on the 22d; and a garriſon of 200 Engliſh Sepoys, with a few artillery men, were left to ſecure it.

Major Lawrence finding that the enemy ſhewed no inclination to quit Moota Chellinoor, marched from the Facquire's tope on the 1ſt of September, and encamped nearer to them, to the north-weſt of Warriore pagodas. They had made an inundation on each flank of their camp; the Caveri was in their rear; and they had flung up works and mounted cannon to defend their front, which was acceſſible only by one road leading through rice fields covered with water. Notwithſtanding the advantages of this ſituation, they had not courage to continue in it; but ſuſpecting that the Engliſh intended to attack them, they croſſed the river in the night, and retreated to Seringham. The Engliſh took poſſeſſion of the poſt they had abandoned, and finding that they had done much miſchief to the watercourſes which from this place ſupply the ditches and reſervoirs of Tritchanopoly, they employed ſome days in repairing them; after which major Lawrence, in compliance with a promiſe he had made to the king of Tanjore, detached Monack-jee with the Tanjorine troops, accompanied by a party of 220 Europeans, 600 Sepoys, and two field pieces, under the command of captain Joſeph Smith, to Coiladdy, in order to protect the coolies employed there in repairing the great bank which the enemy had ruined in the month of May. The rainy ſeaſon being now ſet in, the reſt of the Engliſh battalion and Sepoys went into cantonments in Warriore pagodas, on the 13th of September.

At this time a ſquadron, under the command of admiral Watſon, conſiſting of three ſhips, of 60, 50, and 20 guns, with a ſloop, as alſo

also several of the company's ships, arrived on the coast, having on board the 49th regiment of 700 men, under the command of colonel Adlercron, with 40 of the king's artillery men, and 200 recruits for the company's troops. The French likewise had received during this season, 1200 men, of which number 600 were a body of hussars, under the command of Fitscher, a partizan of some reputation; but the rest were only raw recruits: so that both sides now were able to bring into the field an equal force of about 2000 Europeans; but the English troops were in quality so much superior to the French, that if this long and obstinately contested war had now rested on the decision of the sword, there is no doubt but that the French would soon have been reduced to ask for peace on much less advantageous terms than the presidency of Madrass were obliged to accede to, in obedience to the orders they now received from Europe. Mr. Godeheu himself was sensible of this disparity, and dreading at the same time the advantages which the English might derive from their squadron, he shewed a moderation in his proposals sufficient to induce Mr. Saunders to agree to a suspension of arms, before the terms of the treaty were adjusted. 1754.

The allies on both sides were included in this suspension, which was proclaimed at Madrass, Pondicherry, Tritchanopoly, and in all other places on the coast of Coromandel, where the English and French had troops, on the 11th of October; from this day it was to continue until the 11th of January. As soon as it was proclaimed major Lawrence, who now received a commission appointing him to the rank of lieutenant colonel in the king's service, quitted Tritchanopoly and came to Madrass, where he was presented by the president, in the name of the company, with a sword enriched with diamonds, as a token of their acknowledgment of his military services. These distinctions, however, did not countervail his sense of the neglect which had been shewn him, by sending colonel Adlercron, an officer of superior rank, to command the English troops in India.

The two armies at Tritchanopoly, whilst remaining in expectation of the suspension of arms, had attempted nothing decisive against each other since the French retreated to the island. The French indeed detached a strong party to cannonade the workmen repairing the great bank

1754. at Coiladdy; and theſe troops appeared ſeveral times in ſight of captain Smith's detachment, but were by the vigilance of that officer prevented from giving any interruption to the work: ſome other parties likewiſe moleſted the coolies repairing the watercourſes at Moota Chellinoor, but they deſiſted as ſoon as Mahomed Iſſouf, with ſix companies of Sepoys, were ſtationed there. In other parts of the province very few diſturbances had happened ſince Maphuze Khan had marched from Conjevaram to fort St. David, where he ſtill remained. The Phouſdar of Velore, ſoon after he releaſed captain Smith in April, made overtures, offering to acknowledge Mahomed-ally; upon which the preſidency of Madraſs gave him in writing a promiſe of their protection ſo long as he conformed to the allegiance due from him to the Nabob; and Abdul-wahab the Nabob's brother, made a treaty with him on the ſame condition.

To the northward the French had eſtabliſhed their government in the four provinces ceded to them by Salabad-jing, but not without ſome difficulty and oppoſition. Jaffer-ally Khan, the Nabob who had for ſome time governed the provinces of Rajahmundrum, and Chicacole, reſolved not to reſign them to Mr. Buſſy; and finding Vizeramrauze the moſt powerful Rajah of thoſe countriess with whom he was then at war, in the ſame diſpoſition with himſelf, he not only made peace, but entered into a league with the Raja; and both agreed to oppoſe the French with all their force: in conſequence of which treaty they applied for ſupport to the Engliſh factory at Vizagapatnam, as alſo to the preſidency of Madraſs; the Engliſh encouraged them in their reſolution, but were too much occupied in the Carnatic to furniſh the ſuccours they demanded. The intereſts of the Indian princes and Mooriſh governors perpetually claſhing with one another, and with the intereſt of the Mogul, will perhaps always prevent the empire of Indoſtan from coercing the ambitious attempts of any powerful European nation when not oppoſed by another of equal force; much leſs will any particular principality in India be able to withſtand ſuch an invader. Mr. Moracin, the French chief at Maſulipatnam, not having troops enough to reduce the united forces of the Rajah and Nabob, made overtures to Vizeramrauze, offering to farm out to him the countries of Rajahmundrum and Chicacole at a lower rate than they had ever been valued at.

Such

Such a temptation was perhaps never reſiſted by any prince in Indoſtan, and Jaffer-ally Khan finding himſelf abandoned by his ally, quitted his country full of indignation, and determined to take refuge with Ragogi Bonſala the Morattoe general: travelling with this intention to the weſtward he fell in with an army of 20000 Morattoes, commanded by the ſon of Ragogi Bonſala, whom he eaſily prevailed upon to make an incurſion into the Chicacole countries over the mountains, which till this time were deemed impaſſible by cavalry; but a Polygar, who had been driven out of his territory by the Rajah, and accompanied the Nabob in his flight, undertook to conduct them through defiles and paſſes known to very few except himſelf. The Morattoes under this guide entered the province of Chicacole, whilſt the Rajah thinking ſuch an inroad impoſſible, lay negligently encamped near his capital; where falling upon him by ſurprize, they gained an eaſy victory over his troops, and the Rajah hurried away to Maſulipatnam, to demand aſſiſtance from the French. In the mean time the Morattoes carried fire and ſword through the province, and more particularly directed their ravages againſt his patrimonial territory. Amongſt other depredations they burnt the Dutch factory of Bimlapatnam, in which they found ſeveral cheſts of treaſure; but they offered no violence to the Engliſh factory of Vizagapatnam. Mr. Moracin immediately detached all the force he had, about 150 Europeans, and 2500 Sepoys, to join the Rajah's army, who now marched againſt the enemy; but the Morattoes kept in ſeparate bodies out of his reach, until they had got as much plunder as they could find means to carry away; which having ſent forward with a conſiderable eſcort, they, in order to ſecure their booty from purſuit, marched with their main body and offered Vizeramrauze battle. The fight was maintained irregularly for ſeveral hours, but with courage on both ſides: the Morattoes, however, at laſt gave way before the French artillery: they nevertheleſs remained ſome days longer in the neighbourhood, until they heard that their convoy was out of reach of danger; when they ſuddenly decamped, croſſed the Godavery at a ford which they had diſcovered, and paſſing through the province of Yalore, coaſted the northern mountains of Conḍavir, until they got out of the French territories, who rather

1754.

1754. ther than expoſe their provinces to a ſecond ravage by oppoſing their retreat, ſuffered them to proceed without interruption through ſeveral difficult paſſes where they might eaſily have been ſtopped. In the month of July Mr. Buſſy came from Golconda to Maſulipatnam, from whence he went to the city of Rajamundrum, and ſettled the government of his new acquiſitions, in which the French were now acknowledged ſovereigns, without a rival or competitor; for the Morattoes, content with the plunder they had gotten, ſhewed no farther inclination to aſſiſt Jaffer-ally Khan in the recovery of his governments; who having no other reſource left, flung himſelf upon the clemency of Salabad-jing, and went to Aurungabad, where he made his ſubmiſſions.

As ſoon as the ſuſpenſion of arms was declared in the Carnatic, Mr. Watſon, with the ſquadron, left the coaſt, in order to avoid the ſtormy monſoon, and proceeded to Bombay. In the end of December commodore Pocock arrived at Madraſs with a reinforcement of two men of war, one of 70 and one of 60 guns. By this time Mr. Saunders and Mr. Godeheu had adjuſted, as far as their powers extended, the terms which were to reſtore tranquillity to the Carnatic.

They were only impowered to make a conditional treaty, which was not to be deemed definitive until it had received the approbation of the two companies in Europe, who had reſerved to themſelves the power of annulling or altering the whole or any part of it. This conditional treaty ſtipulated as a baſis, that the two companies were for ever to renounce all Mooriſh government and dignity; were never to interfere in any differences that might ariſe between the princes of the country; and that all places, excepting ſuch as ſhould be ſtipulated to remain in the poſſeſſion of each company, were to be delivered up to the government of Indoſtan. The governors then proceeded to give their opinion what places each might retain without a riſque of engaging them in future wars, either with one another, or with the princes of the country. In the Tanjore country the Engliſh were to poſſeſs Devi Cotah, the French, Karical, with their preſent diſtricts: on the coaſt of Coromandel the Engliſh were to poſſeſs Madraſs and fort St. David; the French, Pondicherry, with diſtricts of equal value; and if it ſhould appear that the Engliſh poſſeſſion in the kingdom of Tanjore and in the Carnatic together,

gether, were of more value than the French poſſeſſions in thoſe countries, then the French were to be allowed an equivalent for this difference in a ſettlement to be choſen between the river of Gondecama and Nizampatnam: diſtricts near Maſulipatnam were to be aſcertained of equal value with the iſland of Divi, and of theſe diſtricts and the iſland a partition was to made as the two nations could agree in the choice: to the northward of the diſtricts of Maſulipatnam, in the Rajahmundrum and Chicacole countries, each nation were to have four or five ſubordinate factories, or ſimple houſes of trade, without territorial revenues, choſen ſo as not to interfere with one another. Upon theſe conditions a truce was to take place between them and their allies, on the coaſt of Coromandel, until the anſwers ſhould be received from Europe concerning this convention. Both nations obliged themſelves, during the truce, not to procure any new grant or ceſſion from the princes of the country, nor to build forts; but they were permitted to repair ſuch fortifications as were at this time in their poſſeſſion. Neither were to proceed to any ceſſions, retroceſſions, or evacuations until a definitive treaty ſhould be concluded in Europe, at which time were to be ſettled the indemnifications which each was to receive for the expences incurred by the war. 1754.

The truce to which this conditional treaty gave birth, ſpecified that if either of the European nations committed any acts of hoſtility, or incroached upon the poſſeſſions of the other, commiſſaries were to be appointed to examine and adjuſt the diſpute; but if the Indian allies of either ſide committed violences againſt either of the two nations, both were to unite in repulſing them: it was likewiſe agreed to proceed to an exchange of priſoners as far as the number taken by the French extended; this was only 250, whereas the Engliſh had 900.

This convention was in reality nothing more than a ceſſation of hoſtilities for eighteen months; ſince there was no poſitive obligation on either of the companies to adopt the opinions of their repreſentatives expreſſed in the conditional treaty. In the mean time the French were left to enjoy, without interruption, the revenues of all the territories which they had acquired during the war. Theſe incomes, according to the accounts publiſhed by themſelves, were, from Karical in the kingdom of

1754. Tanjore, 96,000 rupees; from the eighty villages in the diſtrict of Pondicherry, 105,000; from Maſulipatnam with its dependancies, from the iſland of Divi, Nizampatnam, Devrecottah, and Condavir, all contiguous territories, 1,441,000; from the four provinces of Yalore, Muſtapha Nagar, Rajahmundrum, and Chicacole, 3,100,000; from lands in the Carnatic, to the ſouth of the river Paliar, 1,700,000; from the the iſland of Seringham and its dependancies, which Mahomed-ally had given up to the Myſoreans when they came to his aſſiſtance, and which the Myſoreans now gave to the French, 400,000; in all 6,842,000 rupees, equal to 855,000 pounds ſterling.

The acceſſions which the Engliſh had made during the war to the uſual incomes of their ſettlements on the coaſt of Coromandel, were no more than 800,000 rupees, drawn annually from lands laying to the north of the Paliar, mortgaged by the Nabob to reimburſe the great ſum of money they had defrayed on his account in military expences. It was therefore evident that no motive of ambition had induced them to carry on this war: on the contrary, the continuance of it was deemed, and perhaps with reaſon, incompatible with the exiſtence of the company; otherwiſe it would be impoſſible either to account for or excuſe the conduct of the directors, by whoſe orders the preſidency of Madraſs was obliged to conclude a truce on ſuch precarious and unequal terms as would enable the French to recommence the war with double ſtrength if the conditional treaty was not accepted by their miniſtry in Europe, who for this very reaſon might be ſtrongly tempted to reject it. However the Engliſh kept one advantage in their power, by not releaſing 650 priſoners whom they had taken during the war more than the French had taken from them; and they derived another advantage of the greateſt conſequence, by the removal of Mr. Dupleix from the government of Pondicherry. He departed on his voyage to Europe on the 14th of October, having firſt delivered his accounts with the French company to Mr. Godeheu, by which it appeared that he had diſburſed on their account near three millions of rupees more than he had received during the courſe of the war. A great part of this ſum was furniſhed out of his own eſtate, and the reſt from monies which he borrowed at intereſt from the French inhabitants at Pondicherry, upon bonds given in his own name. Mr. Godeheu

Godeheu referred the diſcuſſion of theſe accounts to the directors of the company in France, who pretending that Mr. Dupleix had made theſe expences without ſufficient authority, refuſed to pay any part of the large balance he aſſerted to be due to him: upon which he commenced a law-ſuit againſt the company; but the miniſtry interfered and put a ſtop to the proceedings, by the king's authority, without entering into any diſcuſſion of Mr. Dupleix's claims, or taking any meaſures to ſatisfy them. However, they gave him letters of protection to ſecure him from being proſecuted by any of his creditors. So that it is ſuppoſed his preſent fortune is much leſs than that which he was poſſeſſed of before he entered upon the government of Pondicherry in 1742. His conduct certainly merited a very different requital from his nation, which never had a ſubject ſo deſirous and capable of extending its reputation and power in the Eaſt-Indies: had he been ſupplied with the forces he deſired immediately after the death of Anwar-a-dean Khan, or had he afterwards been ſupported from France in the manner neceſſary to carry on the extenſive projects he had formed, there is no doubt but that he would have placed Chunda-ſaheb in the Nabobſhip of the Carnatic, given law to the Soubah of the Decan, and perhaps to the throne of Delhi itſelf, and have eſtabliſhed a ſovereignty over many of the moſt valuable provinces of the empire; armed with which power he would eaſily have reduced all the other European ſettlements to ſuch reſtrictions as he might think proper to impoſe: it is even probable that his ambition did not ſtop here, but that he intended to expel all other Europeans out of Indoſtan, and afterwards from all other parts of the Eaſt-Indies, for he was known often to ſay, that he would reduce the Engliſh ſettlements of Calcutta and Madraſs to their original ſtate of fiſhing towns. When we conſider that he formed this plan of conqueſt and dominion at a time when all other Europeans entertained the higheſt opinion of the ſtrength of the Mogul government, ſuffering tamely the inſolence of its meaneſt officers, rather than venture to make reſiſtance againſt a power which they chimerically imagined to be capable of overwhelming them in an inſtant, we cannot refrain from acknowledging and admiring the ſagacity of his genius, which firſt diſcovered and deſpiſed this illuſion. But mi-

1754.

1754. litary qualifications were wanting in his compoſition to carry effectually into execution projects which depended ſo much upon the ſucceſs of military operations; for although ſufficiently verſed in the theory of war, he had not received from nature that firmneſs of mind, which is capable of contemplating inſtant and tumultuous danger with the ſerenity neceſſary to command an army; nor were there any officers at Pondicherry of ſufficient abilities to oppoſe ſuch as we have ſeen commanding the Engliſh forces; for as it was Mr. Dupleix's cuſtom to remove the commander after a defeat, no leſs than ſix had been employed by him in this ſtation with equal ill ſucceſs ſince the beginning of the year 1752: the only man of diſtinguiſhed capacity who ſerved under him, was Mr. Buſſy, and his conduct to this officer ſhewed that he knew the value of merit, and was capable of employing it to the utmoſt advantage; for although Mr. Buſſy had by his expedition to the northward acquired much reputation, and an eſtate much greater than his own, he beheld his ſucceſſes without the leaſt envy, and implicitly followed his advice in all affairs of which Mr. Buſſy, by his ſituation, might be a better judge than himſelf; from whence it may be preſumed, that inſtead of perſecuting he would have agreed as well with Mr. De la Bourdonnais, if that officer had come into India with a commiſſion dependant on his authority; but his pride could not with patience ſee an equal purſuing ſchemes ſo different from his own, in a country where he was laying the foundation of ſo much greatneſs and reputation for himſelf. Here, therefore, envy obſcured his underſtanding, and warped his mind to injuſtice: in his private life he is nevertheleſs acknowledged to have been friendly and generous to ſuch as had any merit, without being implacably ſevere to thoſe whoſe incapacity or miſconduct diſconcerted his ſchemes. The murder of Nazir-jing is the only act of atrocious iniquity which is imputed to him; but even in this no proofs have ever appeared that he either inſtigated the Pitan Nabobs, or concurred with them in planning the aſſaſſination of that prince. He no ſooner quitted Pondicherry than the antipathy, which many had conceived againſt him from the haughtineſs and pride of his demeanour, ſubſided; and all his countrymen concurred in thinking that his diſmiſſion from the govern-

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ment of Pondicherry was the greateſt detriment that could have happened to their intereſts in India. 1754.

The treaties were publiſhed on the 11th of January, the day on which the former ſuſpenſion of arms ended, and two days after Mr. Saunders quitted the government of Madraſs, and proceeded to England. At the end of January Mr. Watſon, with his ſquadron, arrived from Bombay at fort St. David, having made the paſſage againſt a contrary monſoon, with almoſt as much expedition as if they had ſailed at a favourable ſeaſon of the year. In the beginning of February Mr. Godeheu, having fulfilled the principal intentions of his commiſſion, quitted Pondicherry and returned to France, leaving the power of the governor much more limited than it had been in the time of Mr. Dupleix. The two preſidencies, now at peace with each other, gave their whole attention to manage their reſpective territories, revenues, and alliances, to the beſt advantage, without infringing the truce. 1755.

The Myſoreans could not be made to underſtand that they were no longer at liberty to commit hoſtilities againſt the Engliſh or the Nabob; and when adviſed by the French to return to his own country, the regent ſaid that he was under no obligation to regard any treaties that he had not made himſelf: that therefore he ſhould never leave Seringham until he had got Tritchanopoly, which he did not deſpair of effecting even without their aſſiſtance: finding, however, that the French thought themſelves obliged to acquaint the Engliſh of any ſchemes that he might put in practice for this purpoſe, he offered the commanding officer 300,000 rupees if he would retire with the French troops to Pondicherry, and leave him at liberty to carry on his projects without controul: the Engliſh, however, were under no apprehenſions of the effects of them, and at the requeſt of the Nabob a detachment of 500 Europeans and 2000 Sepoys were ordered to proceed into the countries of Madura and Tinnivelly, to aſſiſt in reducing them to his obedience. Maphuze Khan, who arrived at Tritchanopoly in the end of December with 1000 horſe, was appointed by the Nabob his repreſentative in thoſe countries, and joined his troops to the Engliſh detachment; the Nabob himſelf likewiſe reſolved to accompany them ſome part of the way.

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1755. This army, commanded by lieutenant colonel Heron, an officer lately arrived from England, ſet out in the beginning of February from their cantonments at Warriore pagodas, and halted thirty miles to the ſouth of Tritchanopoly, at a village called Manapar, where the Polygars of this part of the country had previouſly been ordered to ſend their agents to ſettle their accounts with the Nabob. The four principal Polygars obeyed the ſummons; and their agents gave obligations promiſing to pay the tributes that were due; but the Nabob knowing the deceitful character of theſe chiefs in general, deſired that the army might remain at Manapar until the money was paid, and ſent officers to collect it; who on their return reported that the Polygar Lachenaig, after paying a part, refuſed to pay the remainder. Upon this it was reſolved to attack his country, and the army after marching ten miles to the ſouth-weſt of Manapar, in the high road leading to Dindigul, came in ſight of his woods, laying about two miles to the weſt of that road.

The ſubjects of this, as well as of all the other Polygars in theſe ſouthern parts of the peninſula, are Colleries, a people differing in many reſpects from the reſt of the Indians, and hitherto little known to Europeans; they ſally in the night from their receſſes and ſtrong holds to plunder the inhabitants of the neighbouring villages of their cattle, which if they cannot bring away alive, they kill with their long ſpears: by conſtant practice in theſe exploits they acquire ſo much dexterity and audacity that they will for hire undertake to ſteal and bring off a horſe even from the center of a camp; they are ſo far from thinking it a diſgrace to be accounted thieves, that they value themſelves upon excelling in the profeſſion, and relate to ſtrangers ſtories of deſperate and ſucceſsful thefts accompliſhed by their countrymen, with as much complacence as other people commemorate the heroic actions of their anceſtors; and indeed when booty is the object, they regard danger and death with indifference, of which the Engliſh officers themſelves ſaw a very ſtriking example, whilſt they were beſieging the French and Chundaſaheb in Seringham. Of the party of Colleries employed at that time by the Engliſh to ſteal the enemy's horſes; two brothers were taken up and convicted of having ſtolen, at different times, all the horſes belonging to major Lawrence and captain Clive; the priſoners did not deny

the fact; but being told that they were to be hanged, one of them offered to go and bring back the horſes in two days, whilſt the other remained in priſon, provided that both ſhould be pardoned. This propoſal being agreed to, one of them was releaſed; but not appearing in the ſtipulated time, major Lawrence ordered the other Collery to be brought before him and aſked him the reaſon why his brother had not returned, bidding the priſoner prepare for death if the horſes were not produced before the next evening: to this the Collery with great compoſure replied, that he was ſurprized the Engliſh ſhould be ſo weak as to imagine that either he or his brother ever had any intentions of reſtoring ſo valuable a booty, which would make the fortunes of their whole family; ſeeing they had it in their power to retain it, at no greater expence than his ſingle life, which had often been hazarded for a ſingle meal: he added, that the Engliſh could not blame them for having contrived the eſcape of one of the two, when both, if unavoidable, would willingly have died rather than reſtore the horſes. The man uttered this ridiculous apology with the appearance of ſo much indifference to the fate that threatened him, that it moved both the laughter and compaſſion of the audience; and captain Clive interceding with major Lawrence, he was diſmiſſed, without any puniſhment. Father Martin, a Jeſuit, who reſided ten years in the neighbouring country of Morana, deſcribes the Colleries as more barbarous than any ſavages in any part of the globe; aſſerting, that when two of the nation, either male or female, have a quarrel with one another, each is obliged by an inviolable cuſtom to ſuffer and perform whatſoever torments or cruelties the other thinks proper to inflict, either on himſelf or any of his family; and that the fury of revenge operates ſo ſtrongly amongſt them, that a man for a ſlight affront has been known to murder his wife and all his children, merely to have the atrocious ſatisfaction of compelling his adverſary to commit the like murders in his own family: but fortunately for the honour of human nature, none of the Engliſh officers have hitherto been able to diſtinguiſh any traces of theſe diabolical practices, and the Jeſuit ſtands ſingle in his aſſertion. The whole country poſſeſſed by the Polygar Lachenaig is fortified either by nature or art; for it is ſurrounded by hills laying at ſome diſtance from 1755.

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1755. one another, which being craggy and covered with buſhes and looſe ſtones, are impaſſible to any excepting the Colleries themſelves; and from hill to hill are flung up works peculiar to the rude but cunning character of theſe people; for they conſiſt of a thick wall, compoſed of large ſtones laid upon one another, without cement, and flanked at proper diſtances by round towers made of earth, well rammed down; before the wall is a deep and broad ditch, and in front of the ditch a broad hedge of bamboes, ſo thickly ſet, that it cannot be penetrated without the hatchet or fire.

The army began early in the morning to attack a part of this barrier: the field pieces were placed upon an eminence from whence they commanded the towers that defended the face of attack; the Colleries appointed to guard the towers not being accuſtomed to the annoyance of cannon ſhot, ſoon abandoned them; but numbers, nevertheleſs, armed with matchlocks, and bows and arrows, perſiſted in defending the hedge, hiding themſelves within it, and firing with excellent aim through the ſmalleſt intervals; whilſt others appeared on the hills on each hand, leaping and bounding, by the help of their long ſpears, from ſtone to ſtone, with the agility of monkeys, and howling and ſcreaming in hopes to terrify the aſſailants; but as ſoon as they found themſelves within reach of their fire, they gained the ſummits again as nimbly as they had deſcended: returning, however, in the ſame manner as ſoon as the firing ceaſed. At length, about ten o'clock in the forenoon, the army, after having loſt ſeveral men, forced their way through the barrier, when Mahomed Iſſouf was detached with 500 Sepoys, ſome Europeans and a field piece, to attack the principal town, diſtant about four miles from that part of the barrier through which they had forced their way; but before the detachment came within ſight of the town, they were unexpectedly ſtopped by another circumvallation of the ſame kind, but ſtronger than the firſt: here the enemy had aſſembled their whole force, and defended themſelves with much more obſtinacy than before; inſomuch that Mahomed Iſſouf, after loſing 100 Sepoys and 12 Europeans, was obliged to ſend for ſuccours from the main body; from whence a party of 100 Europeans was immediately detached to his aſſiſtance; but before they arrived, the enemy having expended

1755.

expended all their ammunition, abandoned their defences and diſappeared. The army then proceeded without any interruption to their principal town, which they found likewiſe deſerted, the enemy having retired with their cattle to the hills out of the reach of farther purſuit: however, Lachenaig finding that they ſhewed no inclination to quit his country, renewed his negociation, and in a few days paid the remaining part of his tribute. The Nabob now returned to Tritchanopoly, and the army, together with Maphuze Khan, proceeded to Madura, where they arrived in ten days. This city, ſince the death of Allum Khan, which happened in April 1752, had remained in the poſſeſſion of another partizan in the intereſt of Chundaſaheb's family, who regarding his government as a tranſitory poſſeſſion, and intent upon nothing but amaſſing wealth, had neglected to repair the fortifications, and kept only a ſlender garriſon, very inſufficient to defend a place of ſuch extent: he, therefore, now retired with his garriſon to Coilgoody, a ſtrong pagoda, ſituated about eight miles to the eaſt, and the army entered Madura without the leaſt oppoſition. Here they received a deputation from the Polygar Morawar, whoſe country adjoins to the weſtern diſtricts of Madura and Tinevelly. The Polygar apologized for his conduct during the war in ſiding with Chundaſaheb and the Myſoreans, deſired to be pardoned for that offence, and intreated to be received into alliance with the Engliſh, under whoſe protection he promiſed to remain faithful to the Nabob. As a proof of the ſincerity of his intentions, he offered to give the company two ſettlements on the ſea-coaſt of his country, oppoſite to Ceylon, which, as he juſtly obſerved, would greatly facilitate their future communications with Tinevelly, for they had at preſent no other way of approaching that city but by a tedious and difficult march of ſeveral hundred miles; whereas reinforcements might come by ſea from Madraſs or fort St. David in four or five days to the ſettlements he intended to give, from which the march to Tinevelly was no more than fifty miles. Theſe offers colonel Heron deemed ſo advantageous, that without conſulting the preſidency, he entered into an alliance with the Polygar, and as a mark of the Engliſh friendſhip, gave his deputies three Engliſh flags, with permiſſion to hoiſt them in their country wherever they ſhould think

1755. proper. After this buſineſs was concluded, and the neceſſary regulations made to eſtabliſh the Nabob's authority in the city, colonel Heron determined to attack the fugitive governor in Coilgoody. The greateſt part of the Sepoys were ſent forward in the evening, under the command of Mahomed Iſſouf, with orders to inveſt the pagoda cloſely until the battalion came up; but by ſome miſtake they halted at the diſtance of two miles from the place, and the governor receiving by his ſpies, intelligence of colonel Heron's intentions, fled in the night, leaving, however, the greateſt part of his troops to defend it. The next day the battalion ſet out from Madura, with two eighteen pounders; but the march laying through a rugged road, the carriages of theſe cannon broke down, and there were no ſpare carriages to replace them; ſo that when the troops appeared before the pagoda, they had none of the common preparations neceſſary to attack it, having even forgot to provide ſcaling ladders. Colonel Heron, however, thinking it a diſgrace to retreat after he had ſummoned the place, determined to force his way into it by burning down the gate with bundles of ſtraw; an expedient which probably was ſuggeſted to him by his Indian domeſtics, in whom he placed great confidence; for we have ſeen the natives employing this method of attack at Atchevaram. The moſt reſolute men in the army regarded the attempt as raſh and impracticable; but colonel Heron, to ſilence their remonſtrances, ſet the example, and carried the firſt torch himſelf. Exceſs of courage, however deſperately or abſurdly employed, ſeldom fails to intereſt thoſe who are ſpectators of it, and often obliges them to participate of the danger even againſt the convictions of their reaſon: Mahomed Iſſouf, the commander of the Sepoys, who had more than any one ridiculed the madneſs of this attempt, no ſooner ſaw colonel Heron expoſing himſelf in this deſperate manner, contrary to all military rules, than he followed his example, and accompanied him with another torch; ſo that the two principal officers of the army were now ſeen acting the part of volunteers, leading a forlorn hope. Succeſs, however, contrary to the general expectation, rewarded their endeavours, and in leſs than an hour the gate was burnt down, when the ſoldiery ruſhed in, and in their firſt fury put ſeveral of the garriſon to the ſword: they were then permitted to plunder, and nothing, as uſual, eſcaped them;

them; for finding in the temples of the pagoda a great number of little brazen images, worſhipped by the people of the country, and particularly by the Colleries, they tore them down from their pedeſtals, hoping to ſell them at leaſt for what the weight of the metal might be worth. After this exploit, for which the people of the country held them in utter deteſtation, the troops returned to Madura; when leaving a garriſon of Europeans and Sepoys for the ſecurity of the city, the reſt of the army, accompanied by Maphuze Khan, proceeded to Tinevelly, where they arrived about the middle of March. This town is without defences, and no body appeared to oppoſe their entrance into it: the renters of the open country followed the example of the capital, and acknowledged the Nabob without heſitation; but many of the neighbouring Polygars made pretences to evade the payment of the tribute due from them. The moſt conſiderable of theſe chiefs was Catabomanaig, whoſe country lies about fifty miles north-eaſt from Tinevelly; and it being imagined that the inferior Polygars would not hold out long after he ſhould have ſubmitted, a detachment of 200 Europeans, and 500 Sepoys, with two field pieces, were ſent to reduce him. 1755.

Some days after another detachment, conſiſting of 100 Europeans, and 300 Sepoys, with two field pieces, were ſent to attack the fort of Nellecotah, ſituated forty miles to the ſouth of Tinevelly. Theſe troops ſet out at midnight, and performed the march in eighteen hours: the Polygar, ſtartled at the ſuddenneſs of their approach, ſent out a deputy, who pretended he came to capitulate, and promiſed that his maſter would pay the money demanded of him in a few days; but ſuſpicions being entertained of his veracity, it was determined to detain him as a pledge for the execution of what he had promiſed, and he was delivered over to the charge of a guard. The troops were ſo much fatigued by the exceſſive march they had juſt made, that even the advanced centinels could not keep awake, and the deputy perceiving all the ſoldiers who were appointed to guard him, faſt aſleep, made his eſcape out of the camp, and returned to the fort; from whence the Polygar had ſent him only to gain time, in order to make the neceſſary preparations for his defence. This being diſcovered early in the morning, it was determined to ſtorm

1755. the place, of which the defences were nothing more than a mud wall with round towers. The troops had brought no ſcaling ladders, but the outſide of the wall was ſloping, and had many clefts worn into it by the rain, ſo that the aſſault, although hazardous, was nevertheleſs practicable. It was made both by the Europeans and Sepoys with undaunted courage, in ſeveral parties at the ſame time; each of which gained the parapet without being once repulſed, when the garriſon retired to the buildings of the fort, where they called out for quarter; but the ſoldiers, as uſual in deſperate aſſaults, were ſo much exaſperated by a ſenſe of the danger to which they had expoſed themſelves, that they put all they met to the ſword, not excepting the women and children, ſuffering only ſix perſons out of four hundred to eſcape alive: ſorry we are to ſay, that the troops and officers who bore the greateſt part in this ſhocking barbarity, were the braveſt of Engliſhmen, having moſt of them ſerved under colonel Lawrence on the plains of Tritchanopoly: but thoſe who contemplate human nature will find many reaſons, ſupported by examples, to diſſent from the common opinion, that cruelty is incompatible with courage.

Meanwhile the Polygar Morawar was ſo delighted at the ſucceſs of his negociation with colonel Heron, that as a farther proof of his good intentions to the Engliſh, he ordered 5000 men, under the command of his brother, to march and aſſiſt them in reducing the Polygars of Tinevelly; but the king of Tanjore and Tondeman having many years been at implacable variance with the Morawar, beheld the marks of favour which had been ſhewn to him with the utmoſt jealouſy, and repreſented their deteſtation of them in the ſtrongeſt terms to the preſidency of Madraſs, alledging that they themſelves could have no reliance on the friendſhip of the Engliſh, if they ſaw them making treaties with their mortal enemies. The preſidency, unwilling to give umbrage to theſe allies, whoſe aſſiſtance they might probably ſoon ſtand in need of again, directed colonel Heron to break off all farther communication with the Morawar: theſe orders, however, did not arrive before the Morawar's troops were advanced within five miles of Tinevelly; when they were abruptly told, that if they did not immediately march back to their own country they would be treated as enemies:

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not, however, imagining that the Engliſh would proceed to ſuch extremities, they remained in their camp, and endeavoured to commence a negociation; but the orders which colonel Heron had received were ſo peremptory, that he thought himſelf obliged to march and attack them; on this they decamped with ſuch precipitation, that they left behind them a great part of their baggage, with ſome horſes, which were plundered by the Sepoys of the advanced guard. 1755.

The revenues which had been collected during this expedition, did not amount to the expences of the army: part of the tributes were embezzled by Maphuze Khan, and part was likewiſe diminiſhed by the preſents which colonel Heron, with too much avidity, conſented to receive from thoſe who had accounts to ſettle with the government. In the mean time Maphuze Khan, in concert with colonel Heron's interpreter, contrived every means to make the ſtate of the province appear leſs advantageous than it really was; and then made an offer to take the farm of the Madura and Tinevelly countries together at the yearly rent of 1,500,000 rupees: this propoſal was ſeconded, as uſual, by the offer of a conſiderable preſent, which colonel Heron accepted, and gave him the inveſtiture of the countries.

Whilſt theſe tranſactions paſſed to the ſouthward, the Myſoreans remained encamped at Seringham, where the regent had been diligently employed in ſchemes to get poſſeſſion of Tritchanopoly: his principal reliance for the accompliſhment of this deſign, was on a bramin, who perſuaded him that he had made a ſtrong party in the city, and that he had ſeduced many of the garriſon: the man even carried his impoſture ſo far, that he mentioned the time when, as he pretended, the regent's party in the city deſired he would make the attack. The regent, elated with this chimerical hope, could not refrain from revealing a ſecret, which gave him ſo much ſatisfaction, to M. de Sauſſay, the commander of the French troops, who immediately ſent intelligence to the garriſon: captain Kilpatrick returned him thanks for the information; but to ſhew the contempt in which he held the military character of the Myſoreans, he deſired de Sauſſay to acquaint the regent, that if he would venture to make the attack, the gates of the city ſhould be left open to receive him. Soon after the regent

1755. gent received news from Myſore, informing him, that a large army of Morattoes, under the command of Balazarow, who had levied a contribution from his country in the preceding year, was approaching again to the frontiers; and that Salabad-jing, at the head of his army, accompanied by the French troops under the command of Mr. Buſſy, was likewiſe advancing to demand the Mogul's tribute, which had never been paid ſince the death of Nizam-al-muluck. Alarmed by this intelligence, he immediately prepared to return to his own country, and on the 14th of April the great drum, the ſignal of decamping, was beaten, and the whole army croſſing the Caveri marched away; leaving the French in poſſeſſion of the iſland of Seringham, and the other territories which the Nabob had made over to him on his arrival, and of which he had from that time collected the revenues.

It is difficult to find an example of a prince conducting himſelf with more weakneſs than the Myſorean in the courſe of this war: the Nabob procured his aſſiſtance by a promiſe which he never intended to perform; and indeed, had the Myſorean been endowed with common ſagacity, he might have foreſeen that the poſſeſſion of Tritchanopoly, the object of all his endeavours, would have been the greateſt misfortune that could have happened to him, ſince it would certainly ſooner or later have involved him in a war with the Mogul government, which probably would have ended in reducing the kingdom of Myſore itſelf, like the Carnatic, to be a province of the empire. The Nabob's breach of faith in refuſing to deliver up the city to him, only ſerved to exaſperate his eagerneſs to get poſſeſſion of it, which rendered him as great a dupe to the promiſes of Mr. Dupleix, as he had been to thoſe of the Nabob; for it is certain, and he at laſt diſcovered it himſelf, that the French never intended to give him Tritchanopoly if they had ſucceeded in taking it: nor was he leſs deluded by his ally Morari-row, who after perſuading him to aſſiſt the French againſt the Nabob, deſerted him as ſoon as his treaſures began to fail. At length, after having waſted three years, abſent from his own country at the head of an army of 20000 men, he was obliged to return without receiving the leaſt compenſation for the expences he had incurred, or any ſecurity for the reimburſement of them: for what reliance he might have upon the conditional

conditional treaty was little better than chimerical, ſince many unforeſeen events might render that convention abortive. 1755.

The preſidency of Madraſs hearing of Salabad-jing's approach to the weſtern confines of the Carnatic, entertained ſuſpicions that he might be tempted, notwithſtanding the conditional treaty, to enter the province; from this apprehenſion they ſent orders to colonel Heron to return inceſſantly with the troops under his command to Tritchanopoly: however, Maphuze Khan prevailed upon him to remain until he received a ſecond and more peremptory order, which came ſoon after; upon which he recalled the detachment which had been ſent againſt the Polygar Catabomanaig, and prepared himſelf to quit Tinevelly; the detachment had been as far to the north-eaſt as Shilinakimpettah, the principal fort of the Polygar, who on their appearance entered into a negociation, paid ſome money in part of the tribute due from him, and gave hoſtages as ſecurity for the reſt; ſome money was likewiſe received from ſeveral inferior Polygars, but the whole collection did not exceed 70,000 rupees: as ſoon as the troops received the orders to return, they ſummoned Catabomanaig to redeem his hoſtages, but he knowing that they would not venture to ſtay any longer in his country, made ſome trifling excuſes, and without any concern ſuffered them to carry the hoſtages away with them. On the 2d of May colonel Heron quitted Tinevelly, but inſtead of proceeding directly to Tritchanopoly, ſuffered himſelf to be perſuaded by Maphuze Khan to march againſt Nellytangaville, a fort ſituated about thirty miles to the weſt of Tinevelly, belonging to a Polygar who had with much contumacy refuſed to acknowledge the Nabob's authority: on the march he was joined by the detachment from the north-eaſt. It was the misfortune of colonel Heron to place the utmoſt confidence in his interpreter, and to be conſtantly betrayed by him; for before the army arrived in ſight of the fort this man had informed the Polygar that they had no battering cannon, and that they would not remain long before the place: the Polygar, therefore, ſecure in his fort, which was built of ſtone and very ſtrong, anſwered the ſummons with inſolence; upon which the field pieces and two cohorns fired ſmartly upon the fort for ſeveral hours; but this annoyance producing no effect, another meſſage was ſent, offering that the army

1755. army ſhould retire, provided he would pay 20,000 rupees. The Polygar relying on the information which he had received from the interpreter, and encouraged by this relaxation in the terms which were at firſt propoſed to him, anſwered with great contempt, that ſuch a ſum could not be raiſed in his whole country, and that he knew the value of money too well to pay a ſingle rupee. By this time the army were much diſtreſſed for proviſions of all kinds, and the Sepoys ready to mutiny for want of pay; both which Maphuze Khan had promiſed, but had neglected to ſupply; it was therefore determined to march away to Madura, where they arrived, accompanied by Maphuze Khan, on the 22d of May.

Colonel Heron ſtayed no longer here than was neceſſary to refreſh the men and ſettle the garriſon, in which he left a thouſand Sepoys, under the command of Jemaul-ſaib, an officer of ſome reputation, and next in rank to Mahomed Iſſouf. The army had now to paſs one of the moſt difficult and dangerous defiles in the peninſula, ſituated in a country inhabited by Colleries, who had, ever ſince the departure of the army from Madura, threatened vengeance for the loſs of their gods at Coilgoody, and had already given a ſpecimen of their reſentment by cutting off a party of Sepoys, which the commanding officer of Madura ſent out to collect cattle. A Collery diſcovered them in the night laying faſt aſleep, without any centinels, and immediately went and brought a number of his caſt, who, coming upon them by ſurprize, ſtabbed every one of them. The defile, called the paſs of Natam, begins about twenty miles to the north of the city, and continues for ſix miles through a wood, impenetrable every where elſe, to all, excepting the wild beaſts and Colleries, to whom it belongs. The road of the defile is barely ſufficient to admit a ſingle carriage at a time, and a bank running along each ſide of it, renders it a hollow way: the wood is in moſt parts contiguous to the road, and even in ſuch places where travellers have felled part of it, the eye cannot penetrate farther than twenty yards.

The army quitted Madura on the 28th of May; a party was ſent forward to take poſt at a mud fort called Volſynatam, near the entrance of the woods, where the reſt joined them in the evening, and the whole

passed the night here. The next morning at day-break they prepared to march through the defile: and it being reported that the Colleries had cut down many trees to obstruct the way, a detachment of Europeans, pioneers and Sepoys, were sent forward under the command of captain Lin, with orders to clear the pass of these incumbrances, and to scour the woods on each side with their fire; but captain Lin neither finding such obstructions as had been reported, nor even discovering the least appearance of an enemy, continued his march, and halted at the town of Natam on the farther side of the wood. Some time after the rest of the army entered the pass in the following order of march: some companies of Sepoys led the van; these were followed by a serjeant and twelve Europeans; and immediately after them came the first division of artillery, with the tumbrils containing military stores; then followed the battalion led by captain Polier, after whom marched the rear division of artillery and tumbrils, which were followed by a serjeant and twelve men, and these by some companies of Sepoys: then followed the baggage of the whole army, carried by bullocks and coolies, with several elephants and camels belonging to Maphuze Khan, and accompanied by some Sepoys to protect them. The rear of the whole line was closed by a guard of 20 Europeans, 40 Caffres, and 200 Sepoys, with a six pounder, under the command of captain Joseph Smith: colonel Heron with a few horse proceeded before the line. Nothing could be blamed in this disposition, excepting that the commanding officer should have been in the center with the battalion, or with the rear guard, which ought to have been stronger: but the report from captain Lin's party, who had passed without interruption, removed every apprehension of danger, and relaxed the spirit of precaution. The whole army had entered the defile, and proceeded, wondering they saw nothing of an enemy of whom they had heard so much; when, by the carelessness of a driver, one of the heaviest tumbrils belonging to the rear division of artillery was stuck in a slough, out of which the oxen were not able to draw it: the officers of artillery, however, imagining that they should soon be able to extricate it, suffered the troops marching before them to go on without calling out or sending to desire them to halt; and the officer who

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1755. commanded in the rear of the battalion, ſeeing ſeveral of the tumbrils following cloſe up with him, did not ſuſpect what had happened, and kept on his way: moſt of the Sepoys, who marched behind the rear diviſion of artillery, were likewiſe ſuffered to paſs the carriage in the ſlough, and proceeded in the rear of thoſe tumbrils which were going on. In the mean time the cartiage reſiſted ſeveral different efforts which were made to remove it, and choaking up the road, prevented the other tumbrils which followed, as well as the three field pieces which formed the rear diviſion of artillery, from moving on, and theſe ſtopped the whole line of the baggage: thus the front diviſion and main body of the army were ſeparated from the rear, which by the abſence of thoſe Sepoys belonging to it, who were ſuffered to proceed, was likewiſe deprived of a great part of its force. The Colleries, although unperceived, kept ſpies near the road, watching every motion, but cunningly refrained from making any attack, until the main body had advanced two miles beyond the tumbril, which cauſed the impediment, when numbers of them began to appear near the rear guard of the baggage; but the fire of a few platoons ſoon obliged them to retreat; and as they remained quiet for ſome time, it was imagined that they would not venture to make another attempt: but on a ſudden they appeared in much greater numbers at the other end of the line, where the tumbril had embarraſſed the road, and attacked the rear diviſion of artillery: here the whole number of troops did not exceed a hundred men, of which only twenty-five were Europeans: this force not being ſufficient to protect all the carriages, the two officers of the artillery prudently determined to give their whole attention to the preſervation of their field pieces, and of the tumbrils which carried their powder and ſhot. Theſe happened to be altogether in the rear of ſuch carriages as were laden with other kinds of military ſtores; but fortunately ſome of the wood on the right hand was cut down, and afforded an opening which commanded the road in front where the enemy were aſſembled; the officers therefore contrived to get their field pieces into the opening, from whence they fired ſmartly; but the enemy nevertheleſs maintained the attack for ſome time with courage, and with a variety of weapons; arrows, matchlocks, rockets, javelins, and pikes; every one accompanying

accompanying his efforts with horrible ſcreams and howlings, and anſwering every ſhot that was fired upon them with the ſame outcries: but finding themſelves much galled, they at length quitted the road, and retired into the thickets on each ſide, from whence they renewed the fight with equal vigour, and with better ſucceſs, ſince the artillery men were obliged to divide their attention to many different parts at once: many of the Colleries now puſhed into the road amongſt the tumbrils and carriages, and with their long ſpears ſtabbed the draught bullocks, and wounded or drove back the few Sepoys who remained to guard them: upon the artillery they were not able to make any impreſſion; for the gunners, ſenſible that the cannon were their only reſource, fired them with great vivacity and much effect; and captain Smith likewiſe ſenſible of the neceſſity of protecting the artillery at all events, detached, although he could ill ſpare them, an officer with a company of Sepoys from the rear guard to their aſſiſtance. At length the confuſed outcries of the enemy were on a ſudden changed to one voice, and nothing was heard on all ſides but continual repetitions of the word *ſwamy*, meaning gods, which expreſſion they accompanied with violent geſticulations and antic poſtures, like men frantic with joy; for ſome of them cutting down the tumbrils they had ſeized, diſcovered in one of them moſt of the little brazen images of their divinities which the Engliſh had plundered at Coilgoody. It ſeemed as if they could not have received more delight in reſcuing their wives and children from captivity: however, after their gods were conveyed out of the reach of danger, they renewed their attacks, and continued them at different intervals for ſeveral hours. Mean while no aſſiſtance came from the battalion, nor did one of the meſſengers, ſent by captain Smith to inform the commander in chief of the diſtreſs of the rear, return. It was now four in the afternoon, when the enemy, after having deſiſted ſome time from their attacks upon the artillery, ſallied at once again unexpectedly into the road amongſt the baggage, coolies, and market people of the army, killing, without diſtinction of age or ſex, all they met. From this moment every thing was hurried into the utmoſt confuſion: every one flung down his burden, and men, women and children preſſing upon one another, fled to the rear guard as their only ſanctuary: captain Smith, unwilling to ag-

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1755. gravate the ſufferings of the poor wretches by firing upon them, took the reſolution of marching back out of the defile into the plain, where he drew up his men in a little field encloſed with a bank, and placing his field piece in the center of it, waited for the enemy; who ſatisfied with the havock they had committed, did not venture to attack him, but retreated and diſappeared as ſoon as the defenceleſs multitude they were driving before them had got out of the wood. Some Laſcars and Sepoys were now ſent forward to clear the road of the incumbrances of baggage with which it was ſcattered: after which the rear guard, divided half before and half behind the field piece and its tumbril, proceeded, and fortunately meeting with no interruptions from the enemy, ſoon joined the rear diviſion of artillery, who had been waiting with the utmoſt anxiety, expecting every moment to be attacked again: great therefore was their joy at being thus reinforced. It was now duſk, and no time was to be loſt; captain Smith therefore immediately collected what bullocks had eſcaped the enemy's ſlaughter, deſtroyed the carriage which had been the firſt cauſe of the confuſion of the day, and drew off all the field pieces with their tumbrils of ammunition, leaving behind the reſt of the ſtores, with the whole baggage of the army, for want of means to carry them away: about two miles farther in the paſs he came up with the battalion, whom he found laying on their arms, without either the commander in chief, or any one of the captains amongſt them: for theſe five officers had all been ſuddenly taken ill about noon with the extreme heat of the day; and had proceeded in their pallankins through the wood, to the poſt where the advanced guard under the command of captain Lin was halting: from this misfortune the ſubordinate officers, left without orders, had not ventured to make any diſpoſitions to ſuccour the rear, notwithſtanding they knew the danger to which it was expoſed. Captain Smith now took the command of the battalion, and marched with them through the wood to the ſtation where the advanced guard and the reſt of the officers were waiting. Here the army paſſed the night, and the next day reached the town of Natam, where they were joined by a detachment from Tritchanopoly: Maphuze Khan accompanied them no farther; but returned to Madura. The army continuing their march without any interruption,

arrived

arrived on the 5th of June in ſight of Tritchanopoly, and encamped at Warriore pagodas: colonel Heron was ſoon after recalled to Madraſs, where his conduct during this expedition was tried by a court martial, by which he was rendered incapable of ſerving the company any longer. 1755.

The preſidency of Madraſs now recommended to the Nabob to come and ſettle with his family at Arcot, where Abdul-wahab had created many diſorders in the adminiſtration, laviſhing away the revenues with a ſpirit of diſſipation that would ſoon have ruined the province, even if it had long enjoyed the higheſt degree of proſperity. The Nabob acquieſced to this advice, and on the 9th of July quitted Tritchanopoly, accompanied by an eſcort of 300 Europeans, and 1000 Sepoys, under the command of captain Polier. They proceeded through the country of Tanjore, and when arrived at the village of Kondoor, the king ſent his general Monack-jee, with a numerous train, to make his compliments to the Nabob. This interview, like moſt others between perſons of ſuch rank in Indoſtan, paſſed in the ſtrongeſt and falſeſt proteſtations of an inviolable friendſhip: amongſt other profeſſions Monack-jee ſaid that his maſter kept 5000 horſe ready to ſerve the Nabob, if neceſſary, in the Carnatic; and the Nabob, whilſt he extolled with admiration this exceſſive mark of the king's love and friendſhip, whiſpered to captain Polier that it was all a lie. From Kondoor he went to Fort St. David, and from thence on the 19th of Auguſt he arrived within a mile of Arcot, and encamped on the plain, reſolving by the advice of his derviſes to wait for a lucky day to make his entry into the city, which fell out on the 21ſt. In the mean time colonel Lawrence, Mr. Walſh, and Mr. Palk, deputed to invite him to Madraſs, arrived at his camp, and contributed to increaſe the ſplendour and reputation of his entry into his capital, from which he had been abſent ever ſince the death of Nazir-jing. On the 30th he came to Madraſs, where after ſeveral conferences with the preſidency, he conſented to make over to the company ſome farther aſſignments on the revenues of the country, in order to reimburſe the great expences they had incurred in the war. This important point being ſettled, it was determined that he ſhould proceed with a detachment of 300 Europeans and 1500 Sepoys to collect the revenues that were due

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1755. to him from ſuch chiefs as had hitherto withheld them with impunity, more particularly from ſeveral Polygars in the northern parts of the province. It was agreed that half the monies which might be collected ſhould be received by the company, in order to defray the expences of the troops ſent on this expedition; and a member of the council of Madraſs was appointed to accompany the Nabob, in order to ſee that this agreement was punctually fulfilled.

The ſquadron under the command of admiral Watſon had no opportunity of exerting themſelves ſince they returned to Bombay in the month of January; but their appearance upon the coaſt nevertheleſs contributed to keep the French within the bounds of the treaty, which in the beginning of the year the government of Pondicherry ſhewed ſome inclination to diſregard, by claiming and taking poſſeſſion of ſeveral diſtricts, to which they had no right, in the neighbourhood of Carangoly and Outramalour: however, after ſome ſharp altercations, this diſpute was ſettled by an agreement to divide the conteſted diſtricts equally between the two nations. In the month of April Mr. Watſon went with the ſhips to Trincanomaly, in order to avoid the ſetting in of the ſouthern monſoon, which is ſometimes accompanied with a hurricane: in the middle of May they returned to Fort St. David, and in Auguſt came to Madraſs; from whence they departed on the 10th of October, in order to avoid the northern monſoon, and on the 10th of November they arrived at Bombay. Here they found ſeveral of the company's ſhips lately arrived from Europe, with a conſiderable number of troops, ſent with an intention to be employed on an expedition projected in England.

The Eaſt-India company, whilſt uncertain of the event of the negociation in India, received advices of the acquiſitions which Mr. Buſſy had obtained from Salabad-jing; and concluding very juſtly that negociations alone would not induce the French to quit ſuch great advantages, they determined to ſtrike at their power in the northern parts of the Decan by more effectual means. Aurungabad, the capital of this diviſion of the Mogul empire, lies no more than one hundred and fifty miles weſt of Bombay, and the country of the Morattoes much nearer; a friendly intercourſe had for ſome time been kept up by the preſidency of

Bombay with the Saha Rajah, and from the frequent diſputes, in which his general Balazerow was engaged with Salabad-jing, it was imagined that he might be rendered inſtrumental in removing the French troops from the ſervice of this prince: it was therefore determined to aſſiſt him with a force of Europeans the firſt time he ſhould march againſt Salabad-jing, who it was hoped would be ſo much alarmed by this meaſure as to conſent to diſmiſs the French troops from his ſervice, on condition that the Engliſh retired from the banners of the Morattoes: and if he perſiſted in his attachment to the French, it was determined to weary him into a compliance by vigorous hoſtilities, in conjunction with the Morattoes. 1755.

This enterprize required a commander of much experience in the military and political ſyſtems of the country; and captain Clive, who was at this time preparing to return to India, offered to conduct it: the company had rewarded the ſervices he had already rendered, by appointing him governor of Fort St. David, and by obtaining for him a commiſſion of lieutenant colonel in the king's ſervice; but from that dependance on the miniſtry to which their affairs will always be ſubject, whilſt engaged in military operations, the court of directors, in compliance with very powerful recommendations, appointed lieutenant colonel Scot to command the expedition. This officer went to India in the preceding year, in the poſt of engineer general of all their ſettlements, but died ſoon after his arrival at Madraſs. The company, however, for fear that this or any other accident might prevent him from undertaking the expedition, deſired colonel Clive to proceed to Bombay before he went to the coaſt of Coromandel, that if neceſſary he might be ready to ſupply colonel Scot's place. The troops ſent from England for this ſervice were three companies of the king's artillery, each of 100 men, and 300 recruits; who arrived at Bombay in the end of October; where colonel Clive finding that colonel Scot was dead, propoſed to the preſidency to undertake the plan recommended to them; but they, poſſeſſed by too much caution, imagined that it could not be carried into execution without infringing the convention made by Meſſrs. Saunders and Godeheu: this judgment, however, had no foundation, either in the truce or in the conditional treaty, in which all mention, both of Salabad-jing

1755. labad-jing and of the French troops in his ſervice, ſeemed to have been ſtudiouſly avoided. The court of directors had explained their whole plan to the preſidency of Madraſs; but the ſhip which had the letters on board was unfortunately wrecked on a rock laying eight hundred miles to the eaſt of the Cape of Good Hope, within ſight of the continent of Africa; and the preſidency of Bombay not providing for ſuch an accident, but fearful that the letters they might write on this ſubject would be intercepted by the French, contented themſelves with only ſending to Madraſs advices of the arrival of colonel Clive with the troops, without explaining their deſtination; however, ſlender as this information was, it ſerved to ſuggeſt to ſome members of the council the whole extent of the company's intentions, in conſequence of which they formed a plan for the conduct of it, which they recommended in the ſtrongeſt terms to the preſidency of Bombay; but before theſe letters arrived, that preſidency had taken the reſolution of employing all their force, in conjunction with Mr. Watſon's ſquadron, againſt another enemy, who had been long formidable to the Engliſh commerce on that ſide of India.

The Malabar coaſt, from cape Comorin to Surat, is interſected by a great number of rivers, which diſembogue into the ſea; it appears that from the earlieſt antiquity the inhabitants have had a ſtrong propenſity to piracy, and at this day all the different principalities on the coaſt employ veſſels to cruize upon thoſe of all other nations which they can overpower: The Mogul empire, when it firſt extended its dominion to the ſea in the northern parts of this coaſt, appointed an admiral called the Siddee, with a fleet to protect the veſſels of their Mahometan ſubjects trading to the gulphs of Arabia and Perſia, from the Malabar pirates, as well as from the Portugueze. The Morattoes were at that time in poſſeſſion of ſeveral forts between Goa and Bombay, and finding themſelves interrupted in their piracies by the Mogul's admiral, they made war againſt him by ſea and land. In this war one Conagee Angria raiſed himſelf from a private man to be commander in chief of the Morattoe fleet, and was intruſted with the government of Severndroog, one of their ſtrongeſt forts, built upon a ſmall rocky iſland which lies about eight miles to the north of Dabul, and within

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cannon ſhot of the continent: here Conagee revolted againſt the Saha Rajah, or king of the Morattoes, and having ſeduced part of the fleet to follow his fortune, he with them took and deſtroyed the reſt. The Saha Rajah endeavoured to reduce him to obedience by building three forts upon the main land, within point blank ſhot of Severndroog, but Conagee took theſe forts likewiſe, and in a few years got poſſeſſion of all the ſea coaſt, from Tamanah to Bancoote, extending 120 miles, together with the inland country as far back as the mountains, which in ſome places are thirty, in others twenty miles from the ſea. His ſucceſſors, who have all born the name of Angria, ſtrengthened themſelves continually, inſomuch that the Morattoes having no hopes of reducing them, agreed to a peace on condition that Angria ſhould acknowledge the ſovereignty of the Saha Rajah, by paying him a ſmall annual tribute; but they nevertheleſs retained a ſtrong animoſity againſt him, and determined to avail themſelves of any favourable opportunity to recover the territories he had wreſted from them. 1755.

In the mean time the piracies which Angria exerciſed upon ſhips of all nations indifferently, who did not purchaſe his paſſes, rendered him every day more and more powerful. The land and ſea breezes on this coaſt, as well as on that of Coromandel, blow alternately in the twenty-four hours, and divide the day; ſo that veſſels ſailing along the coaſt are obliged to keep in ſight of land, ſince the land winds do not reach more than forty miles out to ſea: there was not a creek, bay, harbour, or mouth of a river along the coaſt of his dominions in which he had not erected fortifications and marine receptacles, to ſerve both as a ſtation of diſcovery, and as a place of refuge to his veſſels; hence it was as difficult to avoid the encounter of them, as to take them. His fleet conſiſted of grabs and gallivats, veſſels peculiar to the Malabar coaſt. The grabs have rarely more than two maſts, although ſome have three; thoſe of three are about 300 tons burthen; but the others are not more than 150: they are built to draw very little water, being very broad in proportion to their length, narrowing however from the middle to the end, where inſtead of bows they have a prow, projecting like that of a Mediterranean galley, and covered with a ſtrong deck level with the main deck of the veſſel, from which, however, it is ſeparated

1755. by a bulk head which terminates the forecaſtle: as this conſtruction ſubjects the grab to pitch violently when ſailing againſt a head ſea, the deck of the prow is not encloſed with ſides as the reſt of the veſſel is, but remains bare; that the water which daſhes upon it may paſs off without interruption: on the main deck under the forecaſtle are mounted two pieces of cannon of nine or twelve pounders, which point forwards through port holes cut in the bulk head, and fire over the prow; the cannon of the broadſide are from ſix to nine pounders. The gallivats are large row-boats built like the grab, but of ſmaller dimenſions, the largeſt rarely exceeding 70 tons: they have two maſts, of which the mizen is very ſlight; the main maſt bears only one ſail, which is triangular and very large, the peak of it when hoiſted being much higher than the maſt itſelf. In general the gallivats are covered with a ſpar deck, made for lightneſs of bamboes ſplit, and theſe only carry petteraroes fixed on ſwivels in the gunnel of the veſſel; but thoſe of the largeſt ſize have a fixed deck on which they mount ſix or eight pieces of cannon, from two to four pounders: they have forty or fifty ſtout oars, and may be rowed four miles an hour.

Eight or ten grabs, and forty or fifty gallivats, crowded with men, generally compoſed Angria's principal fleet deſtined to attack ſhips of force or burthen. The veſſel no ſooner came in ſight of the port or bay where the fleet was laying, than they ſlipped their cables and put out to ſea: if the wind blew, their conſtruction enabled them to ſail almoſt as faſt as the wind; and if it was calm, the gallivats rowing towed the grabs: when within cannon ſhot of the chace they generally aſſembled in her ſtern, and the grabs attacked her at a diſtance with their prow guns, firing firſt only at the maſts, and taking aim when the three maſts of the veſſel juſt opened all together to their view; by which means the ſhot would probably ſtrike one or other of the three. As ſoon as the chace was diſmaſted, they came nearer and battered her on all ſides until ſhe ſtruck; and if the defence was obſtinate, they ſent a number of gallivats with two or three hundred men in each, who boarded ſword in hand from all quarters in the ſame inſtant.

It was now fifty years that this piratical ſtate had rendered itſelf formidable to the trading ſhips of all the European nations in India, and the

the Engliſh Eaſt-India company had kept up a marine force at the annual expence of fifty thouſand pounds to protect their own ſhips, as well as thoſe belonging to the merchants eſtabliſhed in their colonies; for as no veſſel could with prudence venture ſingly to paſs by Angria's dominions, the trade was convoyed at particular times up and down the ſea coaſts by the company's armed veſſels. But as this force conſiſted only of four grabs, two of which, however, mounted twenty guns, and ſix gallivats, it was deemed capable of nothing more than to protect the trade; and indeed it ſcarcely ever did any miſchief to the enemy, who ſailing much better than the Bombay fleet, never fought them longer than they thought proper: in the mean time Angria ſeldom failed to take ſuch ſhips as ventured to ſail without company along his coaſt. About twenty-eight years ago they took the Darby, a ſhip belonging to the company, richly laden from England, and more lately a three maſt grab of the Bombay fleet: they likewiſe took a forty gun ſhip belonging to the French company; and in February, 1754, they overpowered three Dutch ſhips, of 50, 36, and 18 guns, which were ſailing together, burning the two largeſt, and taking the other. In 1722, commodore Matthews with a ſquadron of three ſhips of the line, in conjunction with a Portugueze army from Goa, attacked one of their forts called Coilabby, but by the cowardice of the Portugueze the attempt proved unſucceſsful: and two years after that expedition the Dutch, with equal ill ſucceſs attacked Gheria with ſeven ſhips, two bomb veſſels, and a body of land forces. From this time his forts were deemed impregnable, as his fleet was with reaſon eſteemed formidable. Elated by his conſtant good fortune, the pyrate threw off his allegiance to the Morattoes: it is ſaid that he cut off the noſes of their ambaſſadors who came to demand the tribute he had agreed to pay to the Saha Rajah. The Morattoes who are in poſſeſſion of the main land oppoſite to Bombay, had ſeveral times made propoſals to the governor of the iſland, to attack this common enemy with their united forces, but it was not before the beginning of the preſent year that both parties happened to be ready at the ſame time to undertake ſuch an expedition. The preſidency then made a treaty with Ramajee Punt, the Saha Rajah's general in theſe parts, and agreed to aſſiſt the Morattoes with their marine force in re- 1755.

1755. ducing Severndroog, Bancoote, and ſome others of Angria's forts which lay near to Choule, a harbour and fortified city belonging to the Morattoes. Accordingly commodore James, the commander in chief of the company's marine force in India, ſailed on the 22d of March in the Protector of 44 guns, with a ketch of 16 guns, and two bomb veſſels; but ſuch was the exaggerated opinion of Angria's ſtrong holds, that the preſidency inſtructed him not to expoſe the company's veſſels to any riſque by attacking them, but only to blockade the harbours whilſt the Morattoe army carried on their operations by land. Three days after the Morattoe fleet, conſiſting of ſeven grabs and ſixty gallivats, came out of Choule, having on board 10,000 land forces, and the fleets united proceeded to Comara bay, where they anchored in order to permit Morattoes to get their meal on ſhore, ſince they are prohibited by their religion from eating or waſhing at ſea. Departing from hence they anchored again about fifteen miles to the north of Severndroog, when Ramajee Punt with the troops diſembarked in order to proceed the reſt of the way by land: commodore James now receiving intelligence that the enemy's fleet lay at anchor in the harbour of Severndroog, repreſented to the admiral of the Morattoe fleet, that by proceeding immediately thither they might come upon them in the night, and ſo effectually blockade them in the harbour, that few or none would be able to eſcape. The Morattoe ſeemed highly to approve the propoſal, but had not authority enough over his officers to make any of them ſtir before the morning, when the enemy diſcovering them under ſail, immediately ſlipped their cables and put to ſea. The commodore then flung out the ſignal for a general chace; but as little regard was paid to this as to his former intention; for although the veſſels of the Morattoes had hitherto ſailed better than the Engliſh, ſuch was their terror of Angria's fleet, that they all kept behind, and ſuffered the Protector to proceed alone almoſt out of their ſight. The enemy on the other hand exerted themſelves with uncommon induſtry, flinging overboard all their lumber to lighten their veſſels, not only crowding all the ſails they could bend, but alſo hanging up their garments, and even their turbands, to catch every breath of air. The Protector, however, came within gun-ſhot of ſome of the ſternmoſt, but the evening approaching,

proaching, commodore James gave over the chace, and returned to Severndroog, which he had paſſed ſeveral miles. Here he found Ramajee Punt with the army, beſieging, as they ſaid, the three forts on the main land; but they were firing only from one gun, a four pounder, at the diſtance of two miles, and even at this diſtance the troops did not think themſelves ſafe without digging pits, in which they ſheltered themſelves covered up to the chin from the enemy's fire. The commodore judging from theſe operations, that they would never take the forts, determined to exceed the inſtructions which he had received from the preſidency, rather than expoſe the Engliſh arms to the diſgrace they would ſuffer, if an expedition in which they were believed by Angria to have taken ſo great a ſhare, ſhould miſcarry. The next day, the 2d of April, he began to cannonade and bombard the fort of Severndroog, ſituated on the iſland; but finding that the walls on the weſtern ſide which he attacked, were moſtly cut out of the ſolid rock, he changed his ſtation to the north-eaſt, between the iſland and the main; where whilſt one of his broadſides plied the north-eaſt baſtions of this fort, the other fired upon fort Goa, the largeſt of thoſe upon the main land. The baſtions of Severndroog, however, were ſo high, that the Protector could only point her upper tier at them; but being anchored within a hundred yards, the muſketry in the round tops drove the enemy from their guns, and by noon the parapet of the north-eaſt baſtion was in ruins; when a ſhell from one of the bomb veſſels ſet fire to a thatched houſe, which the garriſon, dreading the Protector's muſketry, were afraid to extinguiſh: the blaze ſpreading fiercely at this dry ſeaſon of the year, all the buildings in the fort were ſoon in flames, and amongſt them a magazine of powder blew up. On this diſaſter the inhabitants, men, women and children, with the greateſt part of the garriſon, in all near 1000 perſons, ran out of the fort, and embarking in ſeven or eight large boats, attempted to make their eſcape to fort Goa; but they were prevented by the Engliſh ketches, who took them all. The Protector now directed her force only againſt fort Goa, where the enemy after ſuffering a ſevere cannonade, hung out a flag as a ſignal of ſurrender; but whilſt the Morattoes were marching to take poſſeſſion of it, the governor perceiving that the commodore had not yet taken poſſeſ-

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1755. ſion of Severndroog, got into a boat with ſome of his moſt truſty men, and croſſed over to the iſland, hoping to be able to maintain the fort until he received aſſiſtance from Dabul, which is in ſight of it. Upon this the Protector renewed her fire upon Severndroog, and the commodore finding that the governor wanted to protract the defence until night, when it was not to be doubted that ſome boats from Dabul would endeavour to throw ſuccours into the place, he landed half his ſeamen, under cover of the fire of the ſhips, who with great intrepidity ran up to the gate, and cutting down the ſally port with their axes, forced their way into it, on which the garriſon ſurrendered: the other two forts on the main land had by this time hung out flags of truce, and the Morattoes took poſſeſſion of them. This was all the work of one day, in which the ſpirited reſolution of commodore James deſtroyed the timorous prejudices which had for twenty years been entertained of the impracticability of reducing any of Angria's fortified harbours.

On the 8th of April, the fleet and army proceeded to Bancoote, a fortified iſland which commands a harbour laying about ſix miles to the north of Severndroog. The place terrified by the fate of Severndroog, ſurrendered on the firſt ſummons, and the Morattoes conſented that the company ſhould keep it. It is now called fort Victoria, and the country about it being ſubject to the Seddee, is inhabited by Mahomedans, who contribute to ſupply Bombay with beeves, which it is very difficult to procure in other parts of the coaſt, as they are under the juriſdiction of princes of the ſtricteſt caſts of the Indian religion, who worſhip the cow, and regard the killing of that animal as the greateſt of crimes.

Ramajee Punt was ſo elated by theſe ſucceſſes, that he offered Commodore James 200,000 rupees if he would immediately proceed againſt Dabul, and ſome others of the enemy's forts, a little to the ſouthward of that place; and certainly this was the time to attack them, during the conſternation into which the enemy were thrown by the loſſes they had juſt ſuſtained. But the ſtormy monſoon, which on this coaſt ſets in at the end of April, was approaching, and the commodore having already exceeded his orders, would not venture to comply with the Morattoe's requeſt without permiſſion from Bombay: however, in order to obtain it as expeditiouſly as poſſible, he ſailed away thither in the Protector, but found

found the Preſidency, notwithſtanding the unexpected ſucceſſes of their arms, ſtill poſſeſſed by their ancient ſpirit of caution, and ſo ſollicitous for the fate of one of their bomb ketches, a heavy flat bottomed boat incapable of keeping the ſea in tempeſtuous weather, that they ordered him to bring back the fleet into harbour without delay. Accordingly on the 11th he delivered the forts of Severndroog to the Morattoes, ſtriking the Engliſh flag, which for the honour of their arms he had hitherto cauſed to be hoiſted in them; and on the 15th ſailed away with his ſhips to Bombay: the Morattoe fleet at the ſame time returned to Choule. 1755.

The ſquadron under the command of Mr. Watſon arrived at Bombay in the November following, and the fair ſeaſon being now returned, the preſidency with the Morattoes renewed their intentions of attacking Angria; Mr. Watſon readily conſenting to aſſiſt them with the force under his command. It was determined if practicable, to ſtrike at once at the root of Angria's power, by attacking Gheria, the capital of his dominions, and the principal harbour and arſenal of his marine force: but it was ſo long ſince any Engliſhmen had ſeen this place, that truſting to the report of the natives, they believed it to be at leaſt as ſtrong as Gibraltar, and like that ſituated on a mountain inacceſſible from the ſea; for this reaſon it was reſolved to ſend veſſels to reconnoitre it, which ſervice commodore James in the Protector, with two other ſhips, performed. He found the enemy's fleet at anchor in the harbour, notwithſtanding which, he approached within cannon ſhot of the fort, and having attentively conſidered it, returned at the end of December to Bombay, and deſcribed the place, ſuch as it really was, very ſtrong indeed, but far from being inacceſſible or impregnable.

Upon his repreſentation, it was reſolved to proſecute the expedition with vigour. The Morattoe army under the command of Ramajee Punt, marched from Choule, and the twenty gun ſhip, with the ſloop of Mr. Watſon's ſquadron, were ſent forward to blockade the harbour, where they were ſoon after joined by the Protector and a twenty gun ſhip belonging to the company. And on the 11th of February the admiral, with the reſt of the ſhips arrived. The whole fleet now united, conſiſted of four ſhips of the line, of 70, 64, 60, and 50 guns,

1755. guns, one of 44, three of 20, a grab of 12, and five bomb ketches, in all fourteen veſſels. Beſides the ſeamen, they had on board a battalion of 800 Europeans with 1000 ſepoys under the command of lieutenant colonel Clive.

The famous fortreſs of Gheria is ſituated on a promontory of rocky land about a mile long and a quarter broad, laying about a mile from the entrance of a large harbour, which forms the mouth of a river deſcending from the Balagat mountains. The promontory projects to the ſouth-weſt, on the right of the harbour as you enter; it is on the ſides contiguous to the water incloſed by a continued rock about fifty feet high, on which are built the fortifications. Theſe are a double wall with round towers, the inward wall riſing ſeveral feet above the outward. The neck of land by which the promontory joins to the continent, is a narrow ſand, beyond which where the ground begins to expand itſelf, is built a large open town or pettah, for the habitation of ſuch perſons whoſe attendance is not conſtantly required in the fort. The river directing its courſe to the ſouth-weſt waſhes the north ſides of the town, of the neck of land, and of the promontory; on the neck of land are the docks in which the grabs are built and repaired, from whence they are launched into the river: ten of them, amongſt which was that taken from the company, were now laying in the river, all tied together, almoſt oppoſite to the docks.

Angria, on the appearance of the fleet, was ſo terrified that he left his town to be defended by his brother, and went and put himſelf into the hands of the Morattoes, who having croſſed the river at ſome diſtance from the ſea, were already encamped to the eaſtward of the pettah. Here he endeavoured to prevail on Ramajee Punt to accept of a ranſom for his fort, offering a large ſum of money if he would divert the ſtorm that was going to break upon him: but the Morattoe availing himſelf of his fears, kept him a priſoner, and extorted from him an order, directing his brother to deliver the fortreſs to the Morattoes, intending if he could get poſſeſſion of it in this clandeſtine manner, to exclude his allies the Engliſh from any ſhare of the plunder.

The admiral receiving intelligence of theſe proceedings, ſent a ſummons to the fort on the morning after his arrival, and receiving no anſwer,

ſwer, ordered the ſhips to weigh in the afternoon as ſoon as the ſea wind ſet in, they proceeded in two diviſions, parallel to each other, the largeſt covering the bomb ketches and ſmaller veſſels from the fire of the fort: as ſoon as they had paſſed the point of the promontory, they ſtood into the river, and anchoring along the north ſide of the fortifications, began, at the diſtance of fifty yards, to batter them with 150 pieces of cannon; the bomb ketches at the ſame time plied their mortars, and within ten minutes after the firing began, a ſhell fell into one of Angria's grabs, which ſet her on fire; the reſt being faſtened together with her, ſoon ſhared the ſame fate, and in leſs than an hour this fleet, which had for fifty years been the terror of the Malabar coaſt, was utterly deſtroyed. In the mean time the cannonade and bombardment continued furiouſly, and ſilenced the enemy's fire; but the governor, however, did not ſurrender when the night ſet in. Intelligence being received from a deſerter that he intended to give up the place the next day to the Morattoes, colonel Clive landed with the troops; and in order to prevent the Morattoes from carrying their ſcheme into execution, took up his ground between them and the fort. Early in the morning the admiral ſummoned the place again, declaring that he would renew the attack, and give no quarter if it was not delivered up to him in an hour: in anſwer to which the governor deſired a ceſſation of hoſtilities until the next morning, alledging that he only waited for orders from Angria to comply with the ſummons. The cannonade was therefore renewed at four in the afternoon; and in leſs than half an hour the garriſon hung out a flag of truce, but nevertheleſs they did not pull down their colours, nor conſent to admit the Engliſh troops; the ſhips therefore repeated their fire with more vivacity than ever, and the garriſon, unable to ſtand the ſhock any longer, called out to the advanced guard of the troops on ſhore that they were ready to ſurrender; upon which lieutenant colonel Clive immediately marched up and took poſſeſſion of the fort. It was found that notwithſtanding the cannonade had deſtroyed moſt of the artificial works upon which they fired, the rock remained a ſtrong and almoſt impregnable bulwark, ſo that if the enemy had been endowed with courage ſufficient to have maintained the place to extremity, it could only have been taken by regular approaches on the land ſide. There were found in it 200 1755.

1755. pieces of cannon, ſix braſs mortars, and a great quantity of ammunition, and military and naval ſtores of all kinds: the money and effects of other kinds, amounted to 120,000 pounds ſterling. All this booty was divided amongſt the captors without any reſerve either for the nation or the company. Beſides the veſſels which were ſet on fire during the attack, there were two ſhips, one of them of 40 guns, upon the ſtocks, both of which the captors deſtroyed. Whilſt the fleet were employed in taking on board the plunder, the Morattoes ſent detachments to ſummon ſeveral other forts, which ſurrendered without making any reſiſtance: thus in leſs than a month, they got poſſeſſion of all the territories wreſted from them by Angria's predeceſſors, and which they had for ſeventy years deſpaired of ever being able to recover. In the beginning of April, the fleet returned to Bombay, where Mr. Watſon repaired his ſquadron, and ſailing from thence on the 28th of April, arrived at Madraſs on the 12th of May.

During this expedition no material alterations had happened in the Engliſh and French affairs on the coaſt of Coromandel. The detachment ſent under the command of Major Kilpatrick, to aſſiſt the Nabob in collecting his revenues from the Polygars to the north of Arcot, kept the field until the end of the year, without being obliged to commit any hoſtilities; for all the Polygars conſented to acknowledge the Nabob, and moſt of them paid ſome money, which although not equal to the tribute due from them, was however accepted, ſince the natural ſtrength of their countries enabled them to defend themſelves with great advantage; and indeed the Nabob himſelf was very anxious to draw the troops out of the countries of theſe inſignificant chiefs, in order to employ them againſt one of much greater conſequence. This was Mortiz-ally, the Phouſdar of Velore, whoſe riches, extenſive territory, and the vicinity of his capital to Arcot, rendered him almoſt as conſiderable in the province as the Nabob himſelf: the independence affected by this odious rival preyed upon the Nabob's mind ſo much, that the preſidency, in compliance with his repeated and earneſt ſollicitations, determined to give him the ſatisfaction of attempting to reduce the city of Velore. Accordingly the detachment returning to Arcot from the expedition againſt the Polygars was reinforced with two hundred Europeans, two eighteen pounders and ſeveral companies of Sepoys: the whole, now amount-

ing to 500 men in battalion, with 1500 Sepoys, encamped the 30th of January within cannon ſhot to the ſouth of Velore. The Phouſdar having early intelligence of their approach, applied for aſſiſtance to Mr. de Leyrit, the governor of Pondicherry, who wrote to the preſidency of Madraſs, that he regarded their proceedings againſt Velore, as a breach of the truce, and ſhould commence hoſtilities if the Engliſh troops were not immediately withdrawn; as a proof of which intention, he ordered 700 Europeans, with 2000 Sepoys, to take the field: this vigorous reſolution probably proceeded from his knowing that the Engliſh ſquadron were preparing for the expedition againſt Angria, which would for ſome months delay their return to the coaſt of Coromandel. At the ſame time that major Kilpatrick was alarmed by the approach of ſuch an enemy in his rear, he found the place he was come againſt much too ſtrong to be reduced by the force under his command: Mortiz-ally likewiſe had his anxieties; for next to the dread of being vigorouſly attacked, nothing was ſo terrible to him as the neceſſity of admitting a body of French troops into his fort; although to amuſe the Engliſh, he publicly declared that he ſhould not heſitate to take this ſtep if they commenced hoſtilities. Both ſides therefore, having cogent reaſons to avoid them, a negociation was opened, and Mahomed Iſſouf went into Velore to ſettle the terms. In the mean time, the Phouſdar's agent at Madraſs, finding the preſidency diſconcerted by the reſolution which the French had taken, made propoſals in behalf of his maſter; and the preſidency deeming it impoſſible to ſubdue the place in the preſent conjuncture, determined to withdraw their troops and make peace with him, provided he would pay the company 100,000 rupees. In conſequence of this reſolution, a member of the council was deputed to Velore, who, on his arrival at the camp, found that the Phouſdar had agreed to pay major Kilpatrick 400,000 rupees, if he would immediately retire with the army, and that he had already ſent out ſome ſealed bags of money, which, as he ſaid, contained 20,000 rupees, in part of the ſum ſtipulated. But by this time the Phouſdar's agent was returned from Madraſs to Velore, having by ſome very unaccountable means obtained information of the whole extent of the deputy's inſtructions; this man now came to the camp, and diſcovered what he

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1755. knew, adding that his maſter was ready to pay the 100,000 rupees. In this dilemma the deputy thought beſt to deny the purport of his commiſſion, and to pretend that he was only ſent from Madraſs to receive the money, which had been offered to major Kilpatrick; and in order to perplex the agent, he took the reſolution of returning immediately to Arcot, ſaying that he ſhould leave major Kilpatrick to finiſh his work, and if neceſſary to commence hoſtilities. This alarmed the Phouſdar not a little, and he immediately ſent meſſengers to deſire the French troops to advance; but at the ſame time ſent his agent after the deputy to Arcot, deſiring a conference with him at Velore, and promiſing, with much ſeeming ſubmiſſion, to agree to whatſoever the Engliſh might determine in regard to his diſpute with the Nabob. Upon this the deputy returned to the camp, and went into the town accompanied by Mahomed Iſſouf and two Engliſh officers. After a ſumptuous dinner they retired with the Phouſdar into a private room; who, inſtead of making any overtures to pay the money which he had offered to major Kilpatrick, denied that he had ever made ſuch agreement; upon this Mahomed Iſſouf, who had conducted that buſineſs, related what had paſſed; to which the Phouſdar with great compoſure replied, that all he aſſerted was a lie. Mahomed Iſſouf ſtarting from his ſeat, clapped his hand to his dagger, the Phouſdar raiſed his voice, and the guards of the palace began to be in motion towards the room; but the deputy interpoſing, convinced him that his own ſafety depended on forbidding them to approach: after which the conference was re-aſſumed. However, the Phouſdar ſhewed no inclination to pay more than 200,000 rupees, for which he inſiſted on receiving, from the preſidency of Madraſs, a promiſe that he ſhould not in future be moleſted, either by the Nabob or themſelves. The deputy thinking ſuch a ſum no compenſation for excluding them from taking advantage of a more favourable opportunity to reduce a place of ſuch importance as Velore, broke up the conference, and returned to the camp; imagining however, that the Phouſdar would ſoon recollect the impolicy of his conduct, in refuſing to comply with his agreement. But by this time the French troops were advanced as far as Arni, and the Engliſh not venturing to commence hoſtilities, no farther

propoſals were received from him: major Kilpatrick returned ſoon after with the army to Arcot, and the French troops retired to Pondicherry. 1755.

Since the proclamation of the truce, Mr. Buſſy had been conſtantly employed near the perſon of Salabad-jing, ſometimes accompanying him in expeditions in the field, at others reſiding with him at Golcondah, with ſupreme influence in his councils. In the expedition which they made the preceding year to Myſore, they collected a large ſum without the neceſſity of committing any hoſtilities; for, whilſt they were encamped on the frontiers of the kingdom, waiting for anſwers to the ſummons which Salabad-jing had ſent to the regent, the approach of Balazerow's army, who was coming likewiſe to levy a contribution from him, frightened him ſo much that he deſired Salabad-jing to come and encamp under the walls of his capital, Seringapatnam, where he readily conſented to pay him 5,200,000 rupees, beſides conſiderable preſents to ſeveral of the principal officers, amongſt whom it is ſaid that Mr. Buſſy had a ſhare. After his return from this expedition, Salabad-jing remained ſeveral months at Golcondah; and as Mr. Buſſy's influence over him was never ſo great in a time of tranquillity, as when he had immediate occaſion for his ſervice in the field, ſeveral of the diſcontented lords of the court, who were attached to the depoſed miniſter Sied Leſker Khan, renewed their intrigues to diminiſh his affection for the French troops; and even the Duan Shanavas Khan, wearied by the perpetual reproaches of his countrymen for ſupporting the intereſt of thoſe foreigners, turned again and joined that party, by betraying of which, he had obtained the poſt he now held. Their ſcheme was deeply laid; and to ſecure the ſucceſs of it, they communicated it to Balazerow, whom the frequent defeats which he had received from Mr. Buſſy, rendered as deſirous as themſelves of removing the French troops from Salabad-jing's ſervice. Every thing being concerted, Balazerow propoſed to Salabad-jing to march with their forces united againſt the city of Savanore, the capital of one of the Pitan Nabobs, by whoſe treachery Nazir-jing and Murzafa-jing loſt their lives: the ſucceſſor of this Nabob had hitherto refuſed to pay allegiance to Salabad-jing, and had lately entered into a defenſive alliance with Morari-row the Morattoe, whom Balazerow had regarded as a rebel ever ſince he had affected to be independant

1755. dependant of the Saha Rajah's authority. Salabad-jing conſented to Balazerow's propoſal, and both their armies appeared before Savanore in the month of March: this place is ſituated about 200 miles to the ſouth of Golcondah, and about thirty to the north-weſt of Biſnagar; it is ſtrongly fortified, and the garriſon was reinforced by a body of Morattoes commanded by Morari-row in perſon. However, the operations of Mr. Buſſy ſoon reduced the Nabob and his ally Morari-row to enter into a negociation; and both of them made their ſubmiſſion, Morari-row not only to Salabad-jing, but likewiſe to Balazerow. Immediately after this ſucceſs, when Mr. Buſſy, conſcious of the ſervice he had rendred, expected nothing leſs, the diſcontented lords, headed by Shavanas Khan, demanded of Salabad-jing, that he ſhould immediately diſmiſs the French troops from his ſervice, and oblige them to retire to Maſulipatnam. Balazerow appeared at the ſame time, and ſeconded theſe remonſtrances with many arguments, which probably would not have produced much effect, had he not been at the head of an army equal to the Soubah's. Mr. Buſſy, with his uſual ſagacity, ſaw at once the impoſſibility of reſiſting the combination formed againſt him, and making a merit of neceſſity, pretended to be as deſirous as his enemies could wiſh him of quitting a ſervice fraught with ſuch diſcontent; his deſign, however, was to gain as faſt as poſſible the provinces which Salabad-jing had given to the French nation, not doubting but that he ſhould be able to maintain himſelf in them againſt all the force which could be brought againſt him. He therefore took his leave of Salabad-jing, without any marks of diſguſt, and marched away with the troops under his command, which were a body of 600 Europeans, with a fine train of artillery and 5000 Sepoys. But his enemies ſuſpecting his deſign, determined, if poſſible, to cut off the French troops on their march: orders were therefore ſent to all the Polygars to oppoſe their paſſage, and Balazerow detached 6000 Morattoes to harraſs them: notwithſtanding which, they made their way good with little loſs to Hydrabad. Here they arrived on the 14th of June, and Mr. Buſſy immediately took poſſeſſion of a garden which had formerly belonged to the kings of Golcondah, determining to keep this poſt until he ſhould receive ſuccours from Pondicherry and Maſulipatnam. Salabad-jing,

jing, now intirely under the influence of the faction which had removed the French from his preſence, prepared to march and attack them in Hydrabad; and as a ſurer means of reducing them, diſpatched expreſſes to the preſidency of Madraſs, deſiring they would immediately ſend a body of troops, to aſſiſt him in a ſervice in which their own intereſt was ſo nearly concerned. 1755.

Nothing could be more acceptable to the preſidency than this invitation; for ſince the diſappointment of the expedition, which the company had projected to be carried on from Bombay, they deſpaired of having another opportunity of ſtriking at the French influence in the northern parts of the Decan; on which, nevertheleſs, the very exiſtence of the Engliſh on the coaſt of Coromandel ſeemed to depend. They therefore with great alacrity aſſured Salabad-jing of their intentions to comply with his requeſt, and were on the point of ordering a detachment of 300 Europeans and 1500 Sepoys to take the field; when in the middle of July they received letters from Bengal, informing them of the greateſt danger that had ever threatened the company's eſtate in the Eaſt Indies; to retrieve which from utter perdition required nothing leſs than the exertion of the utmoſt force that could be ſpared from the coaſt of Coromandel.

The END *of the* FIFTH BOOK.

ERRATA.

Page 12, l. 2. *after* uniting, *insert* them.
Page 85, l. 20. *for* ſouth ſide, *read* north ſide.
Page 184. l. 17 and 18. *for* extend near two miles, and the north and ſouth about one, *read* extend near two thouſand yards, and the north and ſouth about twelve hundred.
Page 324, l. 18. *after* Brenier, *inſert* it.
Page 383, l. 22. *for* Morana, *read* Morawa.

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

DIRECTIONS for the Binder to place the MAPS.

General Map of Indoſtan, to face Page 1.
Two Maps of Coromandel, to face Page 33.
Gingee, to face Page 155.
Tritchanopoly, to face Page 184.
Country adjacent to Tritchanopoly, to face Page 246.
Chinglapet, to face Page 270.
Plan of the Battle September 23, 1753, to face Page 318.
Plan of the Attempt to take Tritchanopoly by eſcalade, to face Page 328.
Plan of the Country 18 Miles eaſt, and 10 Miles weſt of Tritchanopoly, to face Page 348.